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SCOTCH PATRIOT UNMASK'D,

IN

ANIMADVERSIONS

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Seditious Pamphlet,

INTITULED,

The Reducing Scotland by Arms, and Annexing it to England as a Province, considered.

By WILLIAM ATWOOD, Efq;

Nunquamme reponam, Vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri?

LONDON:

Printed, and are to be Sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers-Hall. 1705.

1705 Aug 10. The Parliament of Scotland ordered this book to be bewent by the Common hangman at Edinburgh and also the other book written by Hwood, entitled "The Superiority and direct dominion of the Superial Crown of England orun the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland

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IN THIS MED.

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BY WILLIAM ATWOOD, RIG

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wherein they had expressly provided shate it should not be inthe Power of the Meeting of the Estates to name the Sucasion of the Crown B Elland to be Successor to the Season of the Crown of Section in the

SCOTCH PATRIOT

UNMASK'D.

R. Ridpath's Publication in the Year 1695, of Sir Thomas Craig's long-fleeping MS against the Right of the Crown of England, to Homage for the Kingdom of Scotland, with Scurrilous Reflections, not only upon our Historiographer, former Historians, and Publick Records, but upon the English Nation; and Gross Per-see a Notorious version of our Historians, to stir up his Countrymen to fight Instance, Prefor a Point of Honour of his own Coining, having met with face, P. 14. no Reproof from the Government, nor the only private Person Vide bis Epistle no Reproof from the Government, nor the only private Person Vide bis Epistle Dedicatory to who seem'd concern'd to vindicate himself, and the Record he the then Secrehad Published; he still prefuming upon that good Nature of tary Johnson. English men, of which he has so large Experience, not only in his Flying-Post ventured upon almost Daily Pleas for that Party in Scotland, which has been most averse to England, but in the Year 1702, Published a Discourse upon the Union of Scotland and England, wherein he used all the Arguments he and his Patrons could snvent, against a Real and Essetual

This not being taken Notice of, out comes his Historical Ann. 1703.

Account of the Ancient Rights and Power of the Parliament of Scotland; wherein he was not content to misrepresent the Scots Government, without reflecting upon England, as destroying their Constitution, and as if the Union of the Crowns laid the Foundation of all their Miseries; as the want of Records to

Union.

A 2

hew

Histor. Account, shew their Antient State, is imputed to English Usurpa

Dedication, P. tions.

Nor is it to be questioned but the same soft Pen gave some of its gentle Strokes, in an Exultation after their Two Houses had pass'd their First Project of an Act of Security, wherein they had expresly provided, that it should not be in the Power of the Meeting of the Estates to name the Successor of the Crown of England, to be Successor to the Imperial Crown of Scotland; nor shall the same Person be capable in any Event to be King or Queen of both Realms; unless a free Communication of Trade, the Freedom of Navigation, and the Liberty of the Plantations, be fully Agreed to, and Establish'd by the Parliament and Kingdom of England, to the Kingdom and Subjects of Scotland, at the Sight, and to the Satisfaction of that of any ending Parliament of Scotland, or the Meeting of the Estates.

Upon which, the Remarker having boasted of the Revival of the Spirit and Honour of their Ancestors, says, 'The shameful

Vid. The Ast of Decay of their Strength and Reputation for a Hundred Years by gone, is fuch an Inchanted Difease, as is commonly attributed to the Power of Witches, by an insensible consuming of an Image of Wax, the bewitched Original is reduced to a Skelet, without knowing what it is that hurts it. But fince the Wisdom of that Nation begins to be sensible of the Enchantment, neither the Disease nor the Devil are

half so formidable.
The Disease is it seems a Complication of Distempers, to be feen in the Considerer's Historical Account of the Grievances the Scats complain they have fuffer'd, in their Religion,

Liberty, and Trade, fince the Union of the Crowns.

The same Elegant Writer, in his Reflections on the Lord

Haversham's Speech, fays, We have actually suffered so much in our Religion, Lian Historical berty, and Trade, by the Influence of English Councils, since Account of the the Union of the Two Crowns, that except in some few Intervals, we can scarce say that Scotchmen have, fince that Time, been allow'd any Property in their Souls, Bodies, or Estates.

Thus their Souls, Bodies and Estates, have for a Hundred Tears by gone, been given up to the Devil: Which Evil Spirit is England.

the Parliament Scotland ? for the Security of the Kingdom, as it is Voted &c. with Remarks, Printed c in the Year 1703.

The Reducing of Scotland Arms, &c. considered , with

ensignof vy

The English bearing Numbers of fuch Lashes, Mr. Ridpath was encouraged in the Year 1704, to publish the Invectives of the warmest of the French Faction in Scotland, in their Speeches against England, and to Season 'em with some of his own Account of the Salt and Fire; after which came out Bold Reflections on the Proceedings of Lord Haversham's Speech; and at last, the Extract of the the Parl Venom of all the rest, in the Sham Discovery of a Project Scotland, which for Reducing Scatland by Arms, Borrowed from Mr. Ridpath's burgh, May 6. Dedication of one of his Libels: Wherein he charges this 1703. Defign upon some of their own Princes, who by the Union of Historical Acthe Crowns became English Sovereigns. All of them express the count of the same Thoughts in the same Stile, transfus'd from one into &c. Dedication,

the other, and Published in Mr. Ridpath's Flying-Post. 111 p. 6. These bold Strokes appear so plainly the Dictates of that Vid. the Flying-Party, whom Mr. Ridpath makes to be the Patriots of his Poft, June 9. Country; while under that Name they covered Defigns for 1705. Publish-France, till Matters were Ripe for little less than Declarati- Account, &c. p. ons of War against England, as may sufficiently admonish 185. this Government for the future to observe the Tendency of The Country fuch Writings; and what 'tis to Suffer Scats-men to Write Party being of and Publish 'em in England, as if they were at the Head of Adjournment, the

an Army entring the Borders.

Duke of Ha-At least any Man would think the Infults and Threats con- milton, and tained in the last Pamphlet, came from one Guarded with other Noblemen fome of those Hundred Thousands of Fighting Men, with which it, as being the Author boasts his Nation has Weight enough to turn Illegal, contrary the Ballance, which ever Side they take. And I may well hold to the Claim of with a juster Application than he makes, that such Libels should Right, &c. not have met with any Rebuke from Authority, must certainly &c. p. 64. proceed from the Neglett of those, whose Business it is to lay lb. p. 3. fuch things before the Ministry.

Mr. Ridpath having furbish'd up Old Armour, which

had long lain Neglected, was put to it to find a Pretence for pfing it; as is evident by the lameness of that which he preface in Scot-

makes, in a Preface with his Name to it. land's South There's no Reason, says be, that Scots-men should be reignty. Ed. An. perpetually filent, when they find the Honour of their Country 1695. p. 10.

attack'd in this Point (meaning of the Homage for that Kingdom) by English Historians one after the other, as par-

ticularly

ticularly by Heylin, in his fourtilous Manner, and now by Mr. Rymer, Historiographer to his Majesty King William 'who hath Published a Form of a Homage said to be perform'd by Malcolm the IIId King of Scots, to Edward the Confessor, for the Kingdom of Scotland, and all the adjacent Ines.

hacient Rights.

Then expressing a Wish that Sir Thomas Craig's Latin MS. De Hominio were Printed, he adds, 'In the mean Time, feeing our Neighbours have Published their Plea for this Homage in their own Language, they cannot well take it amis if we make this Learned Confutation answer them in the same Dialect.

Where he would impose upon the Reader, as if the Plea for this Homage had been then newly Published; whereas 'twas no later than Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and the Provo-

(a) Preface, p. cation Heylin gave was in the Time of King Charles the 15. I no sooner First, or soon after. And all Mr. Rymer did to draw Mr. saw that Paper, Ridpath upon him, was to cause a Copy of an Original but it brought Charter under the Great Seal of Scotland, and still to be me in Mind of feen in our Archives, to be Engraven: with which Piece of Viterbo, that Antiquity he obliged some of his Friends.

famed Impo- This (a) Mr. Ridpath decently compares to the Inscripftor, &c. tions which a Fam'd Impostor had caus'd to be dug up, after (b) But that he had buried 'em for that End.

which proves Having in his own Conceit Triumphed over Mr. Rymer, this Homage to and Damn'd his Record for (b) a Forgery; no Wonder he be a Forgery be- should censure him who drew together many of the Proofs of youd all Contro- the Superiority and direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of versie, is the alledged Consent England, over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland, as a (c) Margaret, forward Writer, with Impunity Launching out beyond his Depth. &c. and attacking their Antiquity, Sovereignty, and Independency, Vid. Treatife of by Counterfeit Histories and Forg'd Records, as he modestly the Superiority, Counterje Cap. 21. where terms them.

all the Objections But this Author may comfort himself, that he is not used are considered so Ill as the Scotch Sovereigns, whom Mr. Ridpath not only maintains, in (d) ftrittness of Sense, to have been the Vassals and refuted. (c) Refl. on L. H's Speech, of the Estates; But, says he, (e) Our Princes originally were no more than Publick Servants of the Nation, and there-(d) Hist Account, fore we are not to wonder that our Ancestors treated them ac-

(c) Ib. p. 132. cordingly.

Upon his Fabulous Account of an Utopian Kingdom; beg- Pref. to Scotging the Question of its Independency; and Counterfeiting land's Sove-a Story of Opposition pretended to be made to it by the reignty Afferted, Scots, when they fully and quietly submitted to the Right; are Founded his Diminutions of the Right of the Scotch Sovereign, as well as of the Crown of England, and vile Refle-Ctions upon the English Nation, and their Pernicious Counsels, The as he calls them more than Once: Out of a deep Sense of the &c. many indispensible Obligations betwixt the Two Nations, to an

inviolable Friendship, and good Understanding!

Country by an English Power.

As the Pamphleteer is able to fay nothing upon a fair State of the Question, in the present Dispute between England and Scotland; his representing the Counsels of England, or the Drift of any Man engaged in this Controverlie, as tending to, or exciting a Reduction by Force of Arms, and annexing it to England as a Province, is but suitable to the Artifice which Runs throughout his Writings; and the malicious Infinuations, as if the Duke of Queenborough and others, who manifested their Reflections on Zeal for the Peace and Prosperity of both Kingdoms, had the Lord Hamade themselves liable to the Justice of the Scotch Nation, for speech. p. 7, fome Foul Proceedings relating to the Plot, and for fuch Ad- and 10. vices as tended to little less than a Conquest of their own

No Wonder, therefore, that he who fo Barbaroully misrepresents Met of the brightest Character among his own Countrymen. should say but the same thing of English Princes and Sub-

jects.

Taking it for granted that Scotland is no Member of the English Monarchy, he concludes, that all Instances of the Monarch's afferting the Right of the Crown of England, and obliging the Scots to their Duty, are such Invasions of their Liberties, as necessitate their taking Arms, and seeking the Protection of France. As if he were hired to prepare his Countrymen to join with the French, lat that Invalion upon Scotland, which 'tis thought was to have been made this Sammer, if the Vigilancy of the Government here had not kept in the Brest-Squadron; he suggests a Design in England to red The Reducing, duce them to a State of Slavery; to free themselves from &c. p. 65. which they must be forced, by absolute Necessity, to call in the French; and insolently tells the English, it's much the safer

reducing

-Way to comply with what he calls the just Demands of the Scots, for, says he, they may have what Torms from them they please on such a Condition, besides a Chance for having them continued.

Thus are the Scots with Bareface Listed in the French Service; and surely he must have had great Confidence of the Success of their intended Invasion, that durst practise this in England.

What are his Just Demands, the not granting which he will have to Warrant their calling in the French, may be seen by the Stors Grievances, which he enumerates.

The first is in Relation to what he calls their Liberty, which

he charges the English with Engroffing to themselves.

Thus, says he, the Scots, thus the Irish, and thus their own American Plantations, do all of them complain of their too great Narrowness of Soul on this Head, and alledge, that while they pretend to Fight for their own Liberty, and that of all Europe, they are very niggardly in dispensing it to any other People, over whom they can have any Insuence. But we leave others, and return to the Scots, whose Complaints on that Head are by far most loud, and who seem to be in the best Capacity to bring England to a Temper in that Point.

How he thinks the Scots have a Capacity before other Complainants to bring England to a Temper, he manifests by his threatning the Revival of their French League; and by Liberty plainly means Independency, in which he, more properly than he intended, compares the Scots, in striving for such Liberty, with Ireland, and our Plantations: Which are too apt to forget their Dependency, and how necessary it is for their own Safety.

With his common Assurance, and directly contrary to Truth, he affirms, The Royal Predecessors of J. VI. of Scotland had always maintain'd the Independency of their Church and State.

He accuses E. I. of a Barbarous Design, not only of Subduing and Annexing Scotland as a Province, but Rooting up or Levelling all the great Families there.

and infolently tells the Bugliffs, at's much the I

P. 16.

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Whereas E. I. upon frequent Rebellions of the Scots did Subdue 'em; and actually, more than in Defign; annexed the Kingdom as a Province, but preserved their Nobility, and treated all that were faithful as Natural Subjects.

According to this Inhabitant of England, ' Heaven favour'd the 16. Fust Cause of the Scots against England, in their laying waste great Part of it, and the Scots began their Deliverance by doing fustice on those that had betray'd their Liberties; of which, fays he, the Ruins of the Families of Baliol, Cummin, and Menteith, are lasting Monuments, and may serve as a Caveat to others who shall tread in their Steps.

The beginning of the Justice which he Extols, was the Base Stabbing the Lord Cummin, and that in a Church, because he would not join with Robert Bruce, in his Rebellion against King Edward I. rightfully polless'd of the Kingdom of Scotland, which

he govern'd with a Gentle Rein.

But his Ignorance in the Antiquities of his own Country makes Two Families of the Cummins and Menteiths, whereas

the Earl of Menteith was a Cummin.

That while the Bruces were in Power they should keep under the Heads of an opposite Party, is not to be wondred at: Yet when 'tis confidered that they who Ruined Two of the Noblest and best Families of Scotland, were of the French Faction, it may be a sufficient Caution for England to take better Care of its Friends and Liege-Men there.

However, tho' Robert Bruce, by the Help of France, profitted Discourse on the of the Distractions of England in the Reign of E. II. Mr. Rid- Union, p. 5. 7. path owns the Alliance with France has been Fatal to 'em more than once; and Time was when it brought them under a Toak of

French Lyranny.

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And he might have known that a Cummin Earl of Menteith, had his Revenge upon the Brucian Family, in helping to reftore the Crown to the Right Line, upon Edward Baliol's driving out David Bruce.

The Pamphleteer, speaking of the Conditions of Government required by the Act of Security to be fettled, before they will admit the English Successor, says, If Englishmen consider those Demands, and 'weigh them in the Ballance of Fustice, they are no more than what the Parliament, of any free Kingdom is obliged to demand for the People they Represent, Except they betray the

Trust that is Reposed in them, and be wanting to themselves and their Posterity.

This Haughty Writer, who makes it Arrogant and Seditious, for English Men to meddle with such Points, telling them, they ought to wait for the Determination of the Estates of both Kingdoms, takes upon him to prescribe to those of his Nation, and lets them know he will expose them as Mr. Ridpath has their Clergy, for Betrayets of their Trust, if they do not run to his Heights of Libertinism.

By Free, the Confiderer of his own Invention, shews, that he Means Independent, for Transcribing what he had observed in

another Pamphlet he fays,

It is plain that the Scots have as good Right to demand the fame Freedom and Exemption from Obedience to ber Majesty and her Successors, as Sovereigns of England, as the English had to demand such a Freedom and Exemption from Obedience to E. III. and his Successors, as Kings of France.

Taking it for granted that Scotland is no more dependent upon England, than England (the Power of which subdued France) was upon the Nation it subdued; which never pretended to more than Homage for such Land as our Kings held within the King-

dom of France.

Upon this Postulatum he adds, 'If this be deny'd the Scots, 'have we not Reason to think that the Judge of all the Earth will do them Justice, and condemn Englishmen out of their own 'Mouths?

If he would attend to the Recognitions of that Nation from Age to Age, he might discern how much more properly this turns upon them who deny the Dependency of Scotland; and would call in the French to uphold them in Fighting against God's Providence, which from of old has fix'd the Dependency.

As he plainly justifies Confederacies with France, to exempt them from Obedience to Her Majesty as Sovereign of England; he has the Assurance to tell Her Majesty, by Her Oath, as Queen of Scotland, She is obliged to govern that Nation according to their own Laws, and by the Advice of Her Great Council of of that Kingdom.

To know the meaning of Governing by the Advice of her great Council of that Kingdom, it may be convenient to look back to Mr. Ridpath's Historical Account of the Ancient Rights

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P. 7.

P. 14.

and

and Power of the Parliament of Scotland, where he favs, 'Their Monarch was an Office, of Trust conferr'd upon the Prince in Conjunction with the Three Estates, who had a share with him in all those Things which Politicians call Jura Majestatis, as the Power of making Laws, the Power of raifing Money, the Power of Peace and War, the Power of making Leagues and Treaties, the Power of making Officers of Law and State and a

'ioint Power in the whole Administration.

Therefore the allowing the Great Council a foint Power in the Administration, is not only, as he contends in that Book, their Old Constitution, but which the Queen is obliged to by Her Coronation Oath: and under the Notion of Legal Liberty, he will have her obliged, on Pain of Forfeiture, to keep or make Three Parts in Four of the Sovereignty independent, not only on the Eng. lish, but on the Scotch Crown; which if she does not, according to him, the will give Occasion to have her Fame tarnish'd in the Annals of her Ancient Kingdom, with this Writer's Infolent Centhese Hundred Tears with reitheast the least exercised their. srut

Having shewn what he means by their Liberty, let us fee what is meant by their Trade. This he will have to be no less than the same Liberty with Englishmen, in their Plantations and

elsewhere, within the English Dominions.

- This he contends to be but natural, fince the Resolution of the P. 38. quages in Calvin's Case; which tho it has * appeared to be ill * Vid. Treatise founded, he would make even Superior to Ads of Parliament : rity, Chap. 28. and represents those Acts which put Regulations upon the English Trade, restrictive of any Licence the Scots formerly had, as Grievances, for Redress of which they ought to pray in Aid of the French. 140 warmagna en 10 bris

And, to shew his Contempt of English Understandings, he feems to expect their Consent to the Repeal of those Laws; for the Sake of a Nomination of the English Successor, tho' so limitted, that he could bring no Advantage from thence to that Nation.

which was to quit fo much for what is next to nothing.

Accordingly, in one of those Papers, which Mr. Ridpath pub-Account of the list'd, in order to undeceive those who had been imposed upon by the Parlia-Misrepresentations, this own'd to be probable, The English will ment, p. 1. not very eafily be brought to engage with the Scots in a Trea. P. 107. ty for a Communication of Trade, especially considering that the Scots are to be Gainers, and confequently the English shall be the

Ib. p. 210.

Losers. But says that Patriot, my Lord! If we were possess'd of an A&t lodging the Power of Peace and War in the Hands of our Prince and Parliament, our Neighbours of England must either be obliged or overall of, to continue to us our Communication of Trade, thereby to engage us in their Quarrel; or otherwise, if they would Rob us of our Communication of Trade, we shall stand Neuters in the War, and shall thereby reap a Vast Advantage.

This Point they have already gained, as far as an A& of their Parliament can bind the Right of the Successor to the Monarchy, against having the whole Body move together; not one Part

draw forward, the other backward.

But the Considerer plainly enough goes further, than even the hottest Stanislans in the Scotch Parliament durst openly propose; for he would force Her Majesty to be determined by Scotch Counsels. And he who complains that their Princes, together with their Prerogative, have been swallowed up by the English for these Hundred Tears past, without the least exercise of their own Free will, allows her none as an English Queen: but, as if he were Deputed with a Remonstrance from a Scotch Parliament, says,

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P. 17.

to govern that Nation according to their own Laws, and by the Advice of Her Great Council of that Kingdom, and to preferve their Religion, Liberty, and Trade, from all Hurtful Influence, as much as She is obliged to preferve those of England. That is, as he and his Compatriots interpret Her Coronation Oath, She is obliged to set asside Acts of Parliament in England to humour those Scots, who would make such Concessions but Arguments that they may hector England or its Sovereign out of any thing. He immediately adds,

Therefore those Incendiaries, who make it their Business to throw Firebrands of Contention betwixt the Two Nations, will find themselves highly Mistaken, if they think to Engage a Princess of Her Majesties Piety and Moderation, in an Unjust War betwixt Nations, that have an Equal Right to her Royal Pro-

tection as a Common Mother. But,

First, Here's no manner of Conclusion from the Premises, if it be not a Declaring, that the Scots will, even in Her Majesties Life-time, make War upon England, if it will not yeild to their

P. 7.

Demands: And that Her Majesty is obliged by Her Oath to affish

the Scots, whose Demands he maintains to be but Just.

Secondly, He unjustly charges others with what Mr. Ridpath at least is to answer for; if he be not the same with the Pamphleteer: For he alone stirred up the Coals long cover'd with Ashes.

Thirdly, He grofly mif-represents the present State of the Question, which is not about any War in Her Majesties Life-time; nor so much as whether she ought not to Arm England to maintain the Dependency, as Scotland is arm'd to cast it off. But,

First, Whether if Her Majesty should Die leaving Issue, it ought to be in Power of the Scots, according to the manifelt import of their All of Security, to bar that Issue; and by Arms to oppose such Issue's Accession to that Crown, unless such Terms as the French or Stanislans shall put them upon urging, be first grant-

Secondly, Whether She does not manifest Her Concern as a Common Mother, in endeavouring to oblige the Scots to declare for the Hanover Succession, in the Event of Her Majesties dying without Isfue.

To proceed with his Infinuations and Flatteries, to which I

forbear to give their proper appellation.

"Her Majesty, says he, knows, That Her Fame is already advanced to a Pitch as high as that of the most Glorious of her Ancestors; and therefore can never entertain so mean * a Thought, * See the same as to give Occasion to have it tarnished in the Annals of Her Dialest in Mr. Antient Kingdom, by such a Reflection asthis, that the Royal storical Account Family of Stuart, which was advanced to their Throne in Exclusion Dedication, P.

of the Family of Baliol, which had subjected their Crown to 9. that of England, had taken their Farewel of the Nation by at-

tempting the very same thing.

Not to dwell upon his Complement to Her Majesty, as if she must needs be past Issue; without which She could not with any Colour be accounted the last of the Family of Stuart; nor the gross Injustice to the House of Hanover, as if the Electress and *The Reducing, Her Descendants were not Qualified Branches of that Family; to See the same in Thew how like this is to Mr. Ridpath's Use of History, 'tis Mr. Ridpath's convenient to add his Marginal Note, " Marjory " Bruce, Account of the Daughter to the Robert Bruce, who was Created King by the Proceedings of Scots, when they Dethron'd Baliol, was Married to the Family of Scotland, p. of Stuart, and her Son Robert succeeded to the Throne.

To pass by the Scotticism of Marjory's being Married to a

Family.

First, None but a Writer, who takes a Liberty of Publishing any thing, from a Contempt of English Understandings, would affirm that Robert Bruce was Created King by the Scots, when they Dethron'd Baliol; fince 'tis certain that E. I. Dethron'd Baliel: After which the People of Scotland Rebelled against E. I. in the Name of John Baliol, whom France encouraged them still to own; upon this they choic Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, one of the Regents, in Baliol's absence; who finding their French Ally not able to protect them against the Rightful Power of the British Monarch, came to his Faith, did Homage, and fwore Allegiance to him, and fo far infinuated into his Favour, that this Robert Bruce, but the Year before his Rebellion, had been one of King Edward's Lieutenants in the East Lowlands. But as he and the Scotch Nation had given repeated Oaths of Allegiance to the English Sovereign; nothing could be a greater Blot upon 'em than that Rebellion which France rais'd, putting Robert Bruce at the Head of it.

Secondly, Baliol had no more Subjected the Crown of Scotland to that of England, than feveral of his Predecessors did, with the full Assent of their Nobility and Commons: And the Nation had done the same several Times, when they had no King of their own Country; particularly in the Reigns of E. I. and E. III.

Thirdly, For Her Majesty to maintain the Right of the Imperial Crown she Adorns, and leave it to Her Successors, undiminished, is but the reasonable Expectation of all who admire that Justice, and the Blessings attending it, which compleat the Glories of Her

Reign.

He goes on in his convincing Way.

It is plain then from the Demands of the Scots, that they don't refuse to come into the same Succession with England; but only delay it, till they procure an Act to secure the Honour and Sovereignty of their Crown, and the Security of their Religion, Liberty, and Trade, from English, or any other foreign Infiltence, and until they have had a Previous Treaty with Eng-

land, about Commerce, and other Concerns.

Clear Reasoning! they are not against it, only insist on Conditions impossible in Nature to be obtain'd, without a Conquest of England; they requiring no less than that the Successor to the English Throne,

Throne, even in what concerns the Trade and Security of England,

should be govern'd by the Counsels of Scotland.

With his wonted Regard to Truth, he places the Word [other] instead of [any] Foreign Influence; as if the Scots, tho' they claim the Privileges of Native English, had openly declared the English Foreigners to them.

And yet one of the Grievances for which he Complains of The Reducing, the English, is that in King Charles II's. Reign, the Scots Commis &c. P. 42. fioners could not obtain, that when the Foreigners or Places beyond

Observe the

the Seas are mentioned in the Act, it might be declared that His Majesties Subjects of Scotland, nor his Dominiens of Scotland, are Scotticism or not meant, nor cannot be so understood. rather Galli-

This is but like an Author, who, prefuming upon the Aid of cifm, of Two Negatives for France, always treats England as the Inferior Kingdom: And thus one. it must be obliged to admit the Scots to be Denizens of England,

while the English are Aliens in Scotland.

Upon the late At for an Union he will have it, that Her Majesty and the Parliament of England have confented to meet the Scots half P. 8. Way, towards a good understanding with them. Whereas'tis evident it cannot be upon the Terms of the Scotch Act of Security: Especially as interpreted by the Pampbleteer. But as the English Parliament have taken the first Step, if the Scots will come the other half Way, they must Repeal their strange Act of Security, and that Anent Peace and War, which justly alarm'd the Parliament of England; and as is evident, both of them had never been infilted on by the Scots, if the Ministry there had made good what they undertook to Her Majesty; and had not grossly misconstrued Her Majesty's Condescension, that Her Commissioner should give the Royal Asient, to whatever Terms and Conditions of Government, with regard to the Succession, could in Reason be demanded, and was in Her Majesty's Power to Grant, for 'Securing the Sovereignty, and Liberties, of that Her antient Kingdom.

This Her Majesty might well do, and yet maintain the Superiority of the one Imperial Crown of Great Britain, in Imitation of Her Predecessors, H. H. K. John, H. III. E. I. E. III. H. IV. E. IV. H. VIII. E. VI. Q. Enzabeth, and J. I. not to mention others.

He proceeds with the fame Art.

"The Cafe being thus, that the Scots have proposed an Amicable 16. ' Accommodation of Differences by a Treaty, and that England has

' agreed to it, we leave it to the Confideration of those Fiery Gentlemen, who will hear of no other Determination of this Matter but by the Sword, whether they don't by fuch Difcourses and Writings fly directly in the Face of the Government of England, and what Punishment they are to expect, if Justice hould be demanded against them by the Government of Scotland. One of those Gentlemen, whom he obliges with fost Epithets, and charges with Matter highly Arrogant, if not absolutely Seditious, might well return this, with his Demand of Justice, upon a warm Writer, who not only ventures in England to justifie the Infolences of its Enemies; but to threaten it with France, and other Powers, if 'twill not comply with their Terms. Yet calmly to answer his State of the Case.

First, The Scots, who he fays, have proposed an Amicable Accomodation, have been fo far from it, that they plainly shew'd they intended none, not having fo much as appointed that there should be Commissioners to Treat, the Stanislans, who managed that Assembly, fearing Terms for the English Succession might be

agreed on.

Secondly, England is far from having agreed to an Accommodation of what this Writer represents to be the Differences: Nor can the Scots be faid to agree to that which is proposed by Eng-* Account of land, till the Parliament of Scotland, having, as Mr. Ridpath affirms, from a due Regard to their own Security, made * void the Commission for treating of an Union with England, and discharg'd any other Commission for that End, without their Confent; that Parliament, being in a better Humour, or else some other, defire a Commission of that Nature, and repeal those Acts which are egregiously obstructive of any Accommodation; unless this Vain Writer will have the Affurance to fay boldly, what he infinuates, that England is under a Fatal Necessity of accommodating Matters, by submitting to every thing that the Estates of that Kingdom shall think fit to impose, how much soever they may at any time be influenced by French Counsels: which with him vide the Bi- are not esteem'd so Pernicious as English.

Chop of C's Preface to the Border Laws.

Proceed.

ings, P. 332.

Thirdly, He cannot shew in any late English Author, what in the least argues his being for no other Determination of the Matter but by the Sword: 'Tis certain that which has been most provoking to the French Faction in Scotland, has but presid a peaceable observing the Law and Constitution of the Monarchy. With With the like Sincerity, with which he justifies the not declareing the Right of Succession to that Crown, he represents the Grievances complain'd of by the Scots fince the Union of the Crowns; and which, he says, they desire to be secured against P. 9.

before they come into the same Succession with England.

Every one of which, as might appear by the Detail, are built upon his begging the Question of the Independency, or of the Nature of the Sovereignty of their Prince, or else imputing to the English, and English Counsels, what the Scots did among themselves, in flattering their Princes, or Barbarities towards adverse Parties.

One of those Grievances was King Fames's Introducing Bishops, tho' part of their old Constitution, and confirming them in a Parliament, the freedom of which he supposes to be violated by the King's coming no nearer them than York.

All the dangerous Condescensions and Abatements of the Regal P. 11.

Power they extorted from King Charles I. he will have but a

Regaining their Antient Freedom in Church and State.

And the Oppressive and Sanguinary Laws, which the Scots P. 12: affented to in Parliments of the Reign of C. II. he attributes to the Pernicious Influence of English Counsels; as if the Scots were meer Machines.

But has not the Gratitude to own that King Charles II. was fo Hist. Acc. Ded. far from one of those English Sovereigns, who defign'd to P. 6. Subject Scotland as a Province to England, that after it was so subjected, he, as much as he could give up the Right of his Crown, made them again a distinct Kingdom.

And 'tis certain even Mr. Ridpath can't fay 'twas English Advice, by which the Parliament of Scotland gave him 2000 Horse, and

20000 Foot, to invade England whenever he pleas'd.

As the Considerer blindly imputes all their Hardships to the Union of the Crowns, he does not observe that one of their Als of Stat. J. VI.
Parliament before the Union, warrants the executing Men as Parl. 8. c. 129.
Traitors for not answering Captious Questions, nor declaring their Opinion, but, as he says, standing upon the Right of ManThe Reducing, kind, and insisting that Thoughts were subject to no Humane &c. p. 27.

Law.

The being freed from the severity of this Law is owing purely to Vid. H.ft. of the Revolution, and principally to King William's Beneficence. To Rev. p. 122. manifest that an Antirevolution Principle runs through his the Bill of Right.

P. 10, 11, 21, Patron's Dictates; as the Reflections on the Lord Haversham's Speech load the Glorious Memory of King William with Reproaches, as if that Great Prince had wrought 'en no Deliverance from the Mileries of the Condition, which he Pathetically

represents them under, during the Reign of their F. VII. he makes The Reducing, poor King William, instead of a Gracious Deliverer, a very Tyrant; for those Actions by which he either secured the Peace of the whole Island, which he had rescued from Popery and immediate Slavery, or cemented that Confederacy, without which France must have fwallowed all.

He Infinuates that the Scots had only chang'd Masters, not Meafures: And would have King William thought ungrateful in not using the Scots as they deferv'd from him; in declaring for him when they might have had what Terms they pleased from France and the late King Fames.

According to this pretended Patriot that injured Prince, through the Pernicious Influence of English Counsels, soon after he was fettled upon the Throne of Scotland, began to give Marks of his Aversion to the Government and Discipline of Scotland, and

Law fent Arbi- acted most Arbitrarily.

And this Traducer of that most Excellent Prince, having complain'd, as he would have it thought with Reason, that the Scots Commissioners, who, in the Reign of King Charles II. would not consent to the Uniting the Two Kingdoms into One Monarchy, and to the Reduceing of Both Parliaments into One, could not Obtain the Removal of the Obstructions to that Trade which they had so long enjoyed, upon Courtesie, adds, We come now to the Reign of King William, wherein the Scots complain they fuffered more in their Trade than in all the other Reigns fince the Union of the Crowns.

This was the Affair of Darien; wherein some and particularly Mr. Ridpath, have treated King William's Memory very Inhumanely, because he would not engage against his Ally of Spain, to pleasure the Projectors of that Ground of a Quar-

rel.

P. 21. Refl.

In the Reflections on Lord Haversham's Speech, Englishmen are upon this Occasion ask'd, how they think their Ancestors, who procured the All of E. III. Declaring that England was not fubjest to him as King of France, would have refented such Treatment from that Prince in Favour of France, as they had from King William in Favour of God knows who?

P. 34.

Oc. P. 14.

P. 43. Note be pretend's twas without any previous Conditions, forgetting their Bill of Rights: P. 14. 1b. contrary to

trary, &c. P. 43.

The last Pamphlet pretends to submit it to the Judgment of P. 60. every thinking Englishman, whether the Scots have not Reason to insist upon such Terms of Government, as may secure them from the like Creatment, before they settle their Succession; since they were thus used by a Prince who came over on purpose to redress their Grievances, and accepted their Crown upon those Terms.

What is this less than to infinuate, what he expresses elsewhere of King James, that King William broke the Contract with them, and only not saying that he forfeited? Which 'tis much he did not express since that Great Prince is Dead; and he as much condemns his Actions toward Scotland as he does those of King James VII. which he says occasioned his Forfeiture; nay, hemakes P. 13. King William's Actions to have occasion'd the Scots to enter into a P. 34. Design of bringing back the late King James again, in hopes of obtaining better Terms from him.

By this Fit of Madness, says he, the Kingdom of Scotland P. 35. Sufferd much, and lost that brave Gentleman, Sir James Montgo-

merv.

n

Thus Poor King William was to be tied up for a Madman, and fet aside, and the other Madman to be let loose upon 'em, for fair Promises: yet 'tis certain the Scots, how much soever he renders 'em Instam'd against King James, could never have taken the P. 13. Benefit of a Forseiture, if King William's Forces had not rescued them.

To make it, as he thinks, more evident the Scots had Reason to take it ill, that King William would not support their attempted P. 60. Settlement at Darien, he says they had beforehand acquainted the Court of what Importance that Setlement might be. But by good Fortune this is a downright Contradiction, not only to what he agrees, King William insisted on, but what their Caledonian P. 47. Council admitted; only, tho' they had not beforehand acquainted the King with their particular Designe, would have it P. 56 enough that they did it as soon as they knew their Orders had been Executed.

Thus Subjects, without acquainting their Sovereign, prefumed to attempt a Settlement in another Country; and tho' he was not worthy to be acquainted with the Design, he must be bound to maintain it; the not doing which is enough to blot out all his good Deeds, and must be thought to justifie an

C 2

Appeal

Appeal from him, to whom Mr. Ridpath's Notion allow'd but One Part of the Sovereignty in Four, so the other P. 57. Three Parts; praying the Parliament to Protect them in their Lawful Priviledges as a Company, and as Subjects of a Free and Independent Kingdom.

And who can Wonder at the Justification of this in a Writer, who held that King William was fallen from his Power, by Acting contrary to the Claim of Right, and Invading

P. 74. He also the Fundamental Constitution? invaded the

Tho' the very naming these Reproaches might be enough to expose them, it may be worth while a little to examine the pretended Grounds.

1. The First is, his Adjourning their Parliament when P. 58. Were afterwards by a- they fell into Extravagant Heats about the Affair of Darien. nother Adjourn- Where he Infinuates as if by the Claim of Right the King ment hindred had not the Power to Adjourn Parliaments without their from coming to any Resolution Consent.

2. The other is, his continuing One Parliament duin the presting Concerns of the ring his whole Reign; wisely foreseeing the Confusions

Nation, contrary likely to ensue upon a New Election. to the Claim of

This is represented as contrary to the Antient Laws of Right, p. 74. the Kingdom, and to the Claim of Right, on which he accepted the Scotch Crown; which is as much as to fay, if he did not

Forfeit, at least he Abdicated.

By the Antient Laws of the Kingdom, he plainly means Hift . Acc. p. those Laws which Mr. Ridpath would impose on the Sovereign, according to which 'the Parliament had a Power to appoint the Times of their Meeting and Adjournment, and * Committees of their own Members, to superintend the Administration.

And 'tis but Natural, that Three Parts in Four should

make a Cypher of the Fourth Part of a Sovereign.

That there may not be wanting colour for a Charge, an Article must be foisted into the Claim of Right, which is not to be found in the Exact History of the Late Revolution in Scotland, which exhibits the Claim at Large.

But the Confiderer pretending to give an Abridgment of it;

the Affairs of fairly adds this Clause of his own Framing.

Scotland. Edit. An. 1690. p. 122.

30, and 31.

P. 58.

Fundamental

Constitution.

It is the Right of the Subject to have frequent Parlia-P. 32.
ments; that those Parliaments be allowed to Sit, and

that Members have Freedom of Speech and Debate.

As this of Frequent Parliaments is not to be found in their Claim of Right, nor was within the Intention of them who made the Claim, neither is it to be found in Mr. Rid-Hist. Acc. p. path's Account of Fundamentals. But on the Contrary, he 29. there argues That Parliaments ought to be continual by themselves or their Committees. These continual Parliaments, which imply no Intermission, he would have to be frequent: That is, always continuing, yet frequently disfolv'd.

His Argument for this being the Supposition that Three Parts of Four of the Sovereignty is in the Estates; as the whole Sovereignty of Administration is in the Prince, King William, by continuing a Parliament so essential to the Peace of that Kingdom, Acted as became so Wise and so Just a

Monarch.

Yet 'tis no Wonder this should be an Heinous Article against King William, since the Disturbers of that Nation's Peace could get no Head while that Parliament continued: And the Advantages they have since gained may convince the World, that King William knew Scotland better than he did England.

For had he kept that Parliament longer which placed him on the English Throne, in all Humane Probability his Reign would have been much more easie; and all his Enemies would have continued at his Feet, as much as they

were upon King James's Abdication.

But the most Generous Minds, as they know no Frauds, are easiest to be imposed on by false Friends; as their despising Danger, and harbouring no Thoughts they need blush at, makes em admit Enemies to their Bofoms.

Here Pity draws a Veil upon the Chief Misfortune of that Excellent Prince, of whom this Age was not worthy: And Posterity will hardly believe it possible the Benefits he Conferr'd on Mankind should meet with so much Ingratitude.

22 7

Tet this is too much in the Nature of some Men, and. may well be charged upon the Pamphleteer; who, if he were Acted by a true Love for his Country, would Venerate the Memory of that departed Hero, for the Good He did Scotland; in Restoring and Preserving their true Constitution, Discourse upon and Supporting that Kirk, which, according to Mr. Ridpath, the Union, Pref. Betray'd the Liberties of their Country, in not binding their Deliverer in the Chains he freed them from; and if this warm Writer were mindful of his own particular Benefits, he would confider what he owes to England, besides Local

Allegiance.

Whoever minds the Drift of that Pamphlet, with others better known to be Mr. Ridpath's than this, tho' he recommends it to the Publick in his Flying-Post, will see, that by reprefenting the pretended Mischiefs from the Union of the Crowns, and supposing the Scots were in a much better Condition while they had Distinct Sovereigns, firm Allies of France; the Loss of the Benefit of whose Alliance and Trade they ought to feek Means to Repair, one of these Ends must necellarily have been in View.

First, Either to have a distinct Sovereign, or Sovereigns of their own, who might renew the Antient Alliance and Trade with France; their pretended Ally, before there was

a Kingdom of Scotland on this Side Ireland. Or,

Secondly, If they have the same Sovereign with England, to have him so much in their Power, as to continue the Alliance for Scotland, tho' England should be in a War with France; and to be able to apply the Riches and Power of

Vid. Acc. of the England, for the Benefit of Scotland, without any Return. Proceedings of Part of this, as far as an Act to disable the Monarch of the Par. of Britain, to draw one Part of his Dominions to the Affiftance Scotland. of the other, can be valid, is already obtain'd; and 'tis i-An All anent magin'd their Act of Security is a fair Step towards for-Peace and War. cing all the reft.

A Scheme of these Acts ought not to be Repealed, will be the greatest But to convince England, and an English Successor, that

England and Which Acts, Laws I cannot call 'em, having escaped the Scotland Edit. Observation of a very Learned and Judicious Person, mani-An. 1705. by festly occasion a material Defect in his Scheme of Union: Dr. Paxton. Which in short is this.

That England and Scotland being, as he takes it for granted, equally Independent, but having the same Sovereign, should continue with distinct Legislatures, but reciprocal Freedom of Trade, with an Equality of all ordinary and ftanding Duties upon Goods, whether Exported or Imported.

That the Duty upon fuch Goods as come into, or are carried out of England should go to the Support of the English Government, upon such as come into, or are carried out of Scotland, for the Scotch; the Overplus to be applied for Ships, and the like, to support their Trade and

joint Interests. Where,

First, He has not given himself the Trouble to consider the Proofs of the Dependency of Scotland: Which if fo Ingenious a Person had attended to, the Interest of the Scots upon the only Foundation which can be laid for an Union, would certainly have had the Advantage of being press'd and adorned by fo good a Pen.

Tho' he agrees with me, That the King of Heaven bas P. 22. Some of perpetually united the Crowns, 'tis likely he had not feen our Princes the Scotch Ad of Security. Which, if in Force, shews that have labour'd fomething more than he has taken Notice of is absolutely to Unite the necessary towards a Safe Union, fince that goes to separate Kingdoms, as

what God had perpetually united.

Thirdly, If that Act were out of Doors, and the Union Heaven of the Crowns remained undisturbed, yet the King of Scotland, as their great Patriot insists, and is provided for 1b. by a Law in Relation to War and Peace, being obliged to Act according to the Advice of the Parliament of Scotland. a Communication of Trade ought by no means to be allow'd the Scots; nor would the Argument hold from its Enriching a Part of Great Britain, fince, if there be not a Real Union, and fuch as may fecure against that Parts joining with a Foreign Power, it would but the better enable it to a Competition for the Mastery, and make its Wealth and Strength a Temptation to push for all.

This Gentleman, as an Argument to induce the English to admit the Scots into the Plantation Trade, says, twill not admit of a Monopoly, because France and other Nations supply with West-India Goods. Which is no Ar-

the King of

gument for admitting the Scots to it, while they remain a

distinct Kingdom.

For certain, the odious Name of a Monopoly, ought not o to discourage England from taking better Care than is at present, to restrain the Trade both of the French and Scots. in the English Plantations, as may appear by Three Instances

within my Knowledge.

At Boston in New-England, Wine and Brandy from France had been Seized by the Deputy Collector of the Customs, and return'd to the Merchants, upon a Fraudulent Composition made with the Officer, who pretended to have Power in it: For which, Sentence having been given against him in the Admiralty, their Chief Court of Justice gave him the Protection of their Court. The Account of which was (a) Note, the transmitted to the Commissioners of Customs here, as well as Assembly at the to others, and yet 'twas never thought worthy of Notice. New-York At New York a Ship in which one Mr. Vetch (a Daring Captain At New York, a Ship in which one Mr. Vetch, (a Darian Captain, Account of the Son in Law to (a) Mr. Levingston, and most (b) probably the Publick Money, Instrument for procuring the Fatal Neutrality of our Indians) could not get an be presends the had brought French Wines and Brandies into those Parts, was Erown is in his Seiz'd, Condemn'd, and upon Sale.

But the Sale was prevented, and the Ship restored to Cap-

tain Vetch.

(b) Now bekept

dence by Let-

Correspon-

Another Ship had carried from those Parts directly to Scotters with the land, so much Tobacco, as, by Computation, should have paid French Gover- 800 l. Custom in England; with this Tobacco it procured sour of Quebec. Scotch Cloth and Linnen, and other Manufactures; which were Seized, but the best Part carried off with an High Hand, and yet the Profecution was stop'd, by suspending the Indge of the Admiralty, and Officer of the Customs: And where Men had forfeited a 1000 %. Bond for Trading contrary to the Laws of Trade, the Supream Court was restrained from recovering it for the Crown.

Such License there has been, to avoid Monopolies.

But let Men invent what Schemes of Union between England and Scotland may please their Fancies, they will find Three Points absolutely necessary, as Foundations.

First, That in all Events England and Scotland have the

same Supream Governour.

Secondly, That the Governour be as Free to Act in Relation to the Good of the whole Body, as of any particular Member.

For certain, if in one Place he be the only Sovereign, in the other but the Fourth Part of One, the other Three Parts are not only too likely to draw him from the Common Interest, but to Engross him, as he would continue that Nomi-

nal Sovereignty.

Thirdly, That Great Britain, whatever Difference of Customs, Constitutions, and Interests, the several Parts of it may have, be confider'd as one Monarchy, the Subjects of which are bound to Unite against all Enemies to the Monarch, especially Foreign, and to support the Regal Dignity throughout the Island.

Therefore such Limitations as Mr. Ridpath insists on, and Hist. Acc. Ded. without which he would have it great Weakness for the p. 11, 12. Scots to throw themselves into the Arms of the House of The Madness of Hanover, are in Effect absolute Barrs to that Success-that Party, &c. may perhaps fion. prevail on the Weaknels of

another to throw themselves into the Arms of the House of Hanover without Limitations, which must necessarily Entail all those Grievances upon us, that have taken their Rise from that Imperfest Union of the Crowns, which hath provid impolitick and ruinous to our Country.

Twould be much fairer in fuch Writers, and their Dark Employers, either Mr. f_n , D. H_n , or others, to fay plainly what they would be at, which only for reviving that French League, with which they threaten England, upon which Account Mr. Ridpath contends that they have Reason to insist upon an Equality in Matter of Trade, without any Discourse upon Compensation, as Part of a Compensation for the Losses they have the Union, p. Sustained by the Union of the Two Crowns, of their Priviledges in France; which for Stanislaus, or rather the expectant Warden of the East and West Marches (the more immediate Patron) which for the Pretender at St. Germains; and which for Mr. Ridpath's Three Fourths of a Sovereign, while they have a Prince; and the entire Sovereignty of the Estates, when there's no Prince: Which would be no oftner than they pleas'd.

Ms. Acc. De- All the Clamour they make about Grievances, pretended disation, p. 6. to have taken their Rise from the Impersett Union of the Crowns, and Noise for Limitations if that Union continue, are, at the best, but to Embroil these Nations for dangerous Experiments, as remote from all Possibility of good Effect, Vid.Mr.F-r's as the Visionary Schemes of a Person who would have all Eu-

Vid.Mr.F-r's as the Visionary Schemes of a Person who would have all EuAccount of a rope submit to the Bounds he prescribes: As if he were beConversation, yound the Archon fancied by Mr. Harrington, for Framing his
New World in Britain; and were the Almighty's Vicegerent

of the European World.

Yet as this is an Age of Wonders, we find Englishmen on the fide of fuch Scotch pretended Patriots, because they talk High for Religion and Liberty. Since 'tis to be supposed that neither Mr. Fletcher nor Mr. Ridpath are for the Church of England, yet both of them inveigh bitterly against the best of the Clergy of Scotland, it need be no great Question what Religion they Serve: Especially considering how Mr. Fletcher, if we may Credit Mr. Ridpath, who extols his Speeches, has explain'd himself.

vid. Account of But what may seem most Miraculous, is, that they should the Proceedings have an Advocate of one of Dr. Brady's Disciples; if twere not of the Parl. of evident that such Tares are of their Sowing, to draw Well-scotland, p. meaning People to serve their Ends, and choak the Good Seed

of Honest Intentions.

But I may well challenge the most Able of 'em to shew, how there can be a Federal Union between England and Scotland, as Two Independent Kingdoms, with the least Degree of Consistency to their Principles.

Yet they are displeas'd at any Man who afferts the Right of the Monarch of Britain, but are not in the least provok'd at Mr. Ridpath, who to defeat Submission to this, says.

Mist. Act. De- It's hard if Scotch-men be so much Degenerate, 'that they neidication, p. 9. ther know how to improve their Estates, or save their Lands,
'without a Foreign Direction.

Which shews that the Considerer's calling English Influence Foreign, was not a meer slip of the Pen, but long premeditated.

He adds.

An inviolable Friendship, and good Correspondence with England, is absolutely necessary; but if this cannot be at-fain'd by an Union of Association, without extending it any dication, p. 7.

further, it's our own Fault.

I need not here consider how inconsistent this is with his Republican Maxim, that Dominion ought to follow the Property; but at present to consider it in a Disciple of Dr.

Brady.

Such a Man must renounce his Principle, or hold such an Union, and the Scotch Act of Security, which stands as an absolute Barr to a compleat Union, by no means to be allowed or valid, even tho' agreed to here. Yet 'tis certain they ran into the All of Security, built upon Mr. Ridpath's Noti- Account of the ons, as the most effectual Security against the only Succession Proceedings, p. and Union which they were to fear: And Mr. Fletcher own'd he was for humouring them who may Favour the Court of St. Germains, by giving them a Chance for their Pretensions.

But, in Reality, they were as far from Mr. Ridpath's Notions of Union, as of the Scots Government; upon which each Party embraces the opposite Extream, and with equal Fury falls upon the middle, but the weakest in Reason, as well as Power, is fatally blinded not to differn, that when by its Help that which is between is removed or destroyed, it must necessarily be join'd with the other in its own Confu-

tion.

Thus it must evidently be with that Party in Scotland. if they are numerous enough to be a Party, who really oppose the Right of the English Successor, the Prerogatives of both Crowns, and the only fafe Union, upon Mr. Ridpath's Chimera's of their Government, or an Opinion of Mr. Fletcher's Ability to make 'em, if not a Match for all the World, neither to fear the Power, nor need the Friendship of any Particular Nation.

As if Scotland, fix'd upon that Immortal Basis, would be like the Divine Nature,

Ipsa tuis contenta bonis nibil indiga nostri.

The Hopes of Inch Benefits Mr. Ridpath, in his Flying-Post. would make a fufficient Warrant for joining with the open Enemies

Enemies of the Government, as if they, at whose Mercy these Modellers would have that Nation lay it self, would act in Contradiction to their Principles any longer than R ferv'd their Cause; or, in truth, did not keep to their Principle, in tying the Hands of those Princes who keep out their King of Divine Right, whom they, even in England, have the Affurance publick-

ly to call King.

According to the late admired Dr. Brady, as appears by his History of the Succession, and Answer to the late Bishop of Worcester's incomparable Demonstration of the Unreasonableness of the New Separation upon the Account of the Oaths to this Government, the Pretender at St. Germains is, even in Her Majesties Life time, King of England and Scotland, but they are better Bred than to fay of France. And according to Men of that Stamp. the whole Sovereignty of both Kingdoms is vested in him: each has distinct Privileges from the defeisable Concessions of his See this in a Ancestors, but are bound, upon Pain of Damnation, to obey all

late Foolish Est his Commands, not contrary to God's Law. Indeed fome Modern High-Fliers Spiritualized this into Palfive ment, p. 62. Nor is it any Obedience while the late King James was here, and now think Solecism to as themselves bound to promote the Interest of his Putative Son : Supream Pow. Yet believe they may not only pay Taxes, but even take an Oath er, fince that of Abjuration, without which they must ruin their Families. For Limitation is which Dangerous, I had almost faid Unchristian Sophistry, they only from his have no less a Voucher than Bishop Sander son, who, good Man, own Authorita-did not foresee how the Doctrine, which he taught upon a which he ha- manifest Usurpation, might be us'd for Supplanting the best of Gowing given to a vernments. That I do not misrepresent their Opinions of the Government by Power of the Prince, who hold off even from acknowledging fuch and such Her Majesty's Right, observe one of the Axioms laid down by not in Wildom, the Divine Hicks.

Fustice or Equity, rescind his own Ast and Deed; tho' if he should he would be accountable only to God himself, in whose Place he is to the People. Which Author has not the Wit to conceal that he learnt his Greek in the Jesuits Schools; for, p. 60. he says the King of England is Head of Church and State, &c. And this is fo not only in Fact, but of Right; our First Christian King Lucius was by the Pope

Recogniz'd Dei Vicarius, God's Vicar.

Whatsoever the Imperial Laws of any Government require of Joviam, p. 206. c its Subjects, if it be not contrary to God's Laws, they are bound to perform it. By By Imperial Laws he throughout his Elaborate Treatife, in Answer to that Great Unhappy Man, Mr Johnson, shews that he means me Pleasure of the Prince, according to the supposed Common Laws of Sovereignty: One of which is to have the P. 202. Legislative Power, or the Power that makes any Form of Words a Law, without which that Learned Dr. Contends, that the Prince can't be a Compleat Sovereign. Or as he explains himself, he can't be a Compleat Sovereign, unless he may make all his Subjects 1b. p. 242. Slaves if he pleases; all their Lives and Liberties being trusted See these Dowith him. Tis therefore Nonsence in the Notion of these Divine a Letter of Remarks uppendent Kingdoms, under one Prince: Such an Union is, at least in an Jovian. Ed. their Sense, a downright Contradiction to their having the same An. 1673. Prince.

For it necessarily implies the setting up Distinct Sovereignties in each, which before had but One Sovereignty extending its Power to all the Parts, as the Sovereign should judge for the good of the whole, or for his Private Interest, which is the Supream Law, according to Bishop Sanderson's Interpretation of the

Maxim concerning the Safety of the People.

That these Principles, which keep the strictest Adherers to them from owning this Government, and Men of greater Latitude upon the same Bottom, to the same Interest, whatever Oaths they take, are too prevalent at this Day, is evident by their giving Occasion to the Men of Forty-one to retort upon these High Royalists, their raising Vain Jealousies and Fears, to the Disturbance of

the present Government.

Thus a Visionair, far gone in Metaphysics, profoundly proves vid. The Diffrom them, that a Man of Moderation can be no True Church stinction of man, and none but the High-Fliers are the Genuine and Or-High-Church thodox Sons of the Church, it being our Unhappiness to live and Low-thodox Sons of the Church, it being our Unhappiness to live Church, brown in Times that need a more Excellent Virtue than Moderato be Mr. Nortion; and that Men should be inspired with the Spirit of True ris's.

Zeal and Courage, to stand by the Church in this Perilous P. 53-Juncture.

And an Oxford Seer, with Approbation of the Vice Chan-Sermon Preachcellor, complaining that the very Gates of the Church are let ed before the
open, and Men of professed Enmity to our Establishment suf-University of
fered to enter in, and occasionally to join themselves with the Oxford. May
Church; prays the Queen's Throne may be Establish'd in 29-1705 p.

Righ- P. 24.

Righteousness, by putting all such away from her; and in praying that God would be pleased to continue the Throne free from the Contagion of Schitm, impudently alarung the Nation with an Imaginary Danger of the Throne's being insected

with Schifm.

The Presbyte-

rians Plea, p.

These Men who know nothing but Letters, take the Popish or Nonjurant Writers of the Memorial of the Church of England, the Plea for the Presbyterians, and other Pamphlets, directly levelled against the Government, to proceed from a True Zeal for the Church of England; tho' one of them plainly accuses the Members of this Church with departing from their Principles, in concurring to the present Settlement of the Crown, and the Abjuring the Pretender at St. Germains; and thinks by using only the First Capital Letters, he may safely enough Institute that the pretended Prince of Wales was not only King James's Son, but that (whatever the Law of England declares to the contrary) he by necessary Consequence is King of England.

But the Zeal of these warm Sons of the Church is so without Knowledge, that they can't see how their Old Darling Notions which they repented of when Popery appeared with open Face, to graft it self upon them, are now us'd by its Dark Engines, to banter 'em out of their Allegiance to our most

Excellent Queen.

They would have it thought the Church is in most Imminent Danger, from the Excellency of Her Majesty's equal Administration, which will make her Memory for ever Glorious: Pretended Scots Patriots represent their Kirk and all their Liberties in the utmost Danger, if they admit the English Successor, unless they deny the Successor the Perogatives of a Scotch as well as of an English Prince; and if they consent to any Union, for which the Scots had not all that they shall think sit to ask, and wherein England is no otherwise considered than as a Conquered Nation, which must be glad of the Name of Peace and Union at any rate.

But they who are really in the Interest of Scotland, who are for the true Prerogatives of their Princes, and the Superiority over the Estates of that Kingdom, and for preserving their Established Church and Civil Rights, by joining with their Friends in England, having now a Ministry truly disposed to procure real

Ad-

Advantages to their Country; 'tis not to be doubted but with a Parliament of that Kingdom, chosen under so good an Influence, that deceived People may be led to understand how kindly and fincerely they are invited, not only to declare the fame Successor, but to a Participation of all Benefits, as Native Englishmen: Which may be, if they be not wanting to themselves. 'Tis not therefore to be imagin'd, how much foever that People has been managed, that fince they are now restored to a Revolution Ministry, they should not return to what followed upon their unanimous Declaring that King James had forfeited: Nor can they be fo blind, as not to fee that they have been diverted from this, by the Ferment rais'd by those, whom Her Majesty's Mercy enabled to disappoint Her Gracious Intensions for the Good of both Kingdoms.

Nor, fince their Defigns are become visible, is it in the least to be fear'd, but the Scots will be as Unanimous as upon the Refo.

lution, in Declaring for the next Protestant Successor.

The Right of this Successor, as the next Qualified Heir, and the Interest of that Nation to comply with it, have been so well made out by a Scots Gentleman (whom for Honour sake I wish The Right of Succession to the I could Name) that I should hope there may be no further Oc- Crown and Socasion for urging the Common Law of the Monarchy, than to vereignty caution my Countrymen against unwarily prejudicing that Right Scotland Arof the Imperial Crown, which they are fworn to maintain; and gued. which, as the Supream Court of Judicature, has declared more than once, English men cannot give up without manifest Perjury.

With fuch Scots-men as the Learned and Judicious Author of the Right of Succession to the Crown and Sovereignty of Scotland argued, I will have no Controversie, whose Medium may be best, for bringing about the defirable End, of their doing Justice to the Serene House of Hanover; and I perswade my self we cannot differ about the Means to fecure the Peace and Happiness of both

Kingdoms, by a further Union than is yet obtain'd.

As we agree, that if Her Majesty's Race of Glory thould not be lengthened out by her own Issue, the House of Hanover will. in Right, continue our Great Expectations from that Stock, to which we owe a Queen that Compensates all our Losses, and ought to filence all Complaints against the Family of the Stuarts: a Person who Judges so well of the Interest of Scotland, as that

Author, and who has so handsomely exposed the Designs and Practices of them who labour a Disunion, will further employ his Excellent Pen, to convince his Countrymen, that the Union propos'd ought to be such, as may cut off all Hopes from them that labour the Two Nations should always draw different Ways, with divided Interests; as they necessarily must, while they continue Two Kingdoms: Each of which may be jealous of the Inclinations of the Sovereign, who may be able to play one Nation against the other more effectually, for destroying the Common Interest, than corrupt Courts have play'd Parties in the same Nation.

In one and the fame Kingdom, tho' some Junctures may give Advantage for designing Men to profit of the Heats they raise, the Body of a Nation cannot be long blinded; especially within this Island of so much Native Virtue; and whenever the Designs of Church-men, Commonwealth-men, or of those who have nothing in View, but their own being uppermost, in all Events, appear barefaced; it occasions such a Spirit of Union, as shew'd it self in all, both English and Scots, when they were call'd to Liberty as with the Voice of God.

What but that of the Devil can excite Numbers, like the Israelites of old, to clamour for a Return to Egyptian Bondage, at a Time when Her Majesty recommends from the Throne, that Moderation and Union, among contending Parties and Nations, within her Empire, which is brighten'd by Her Example; and, by a constant Course of Victories, is upon humbling the Great Enemy to the Peace and Liberties of Europe, as She has already

reftrain'd his Power?

Shall the Name of Liberty make those who have fignaliz'd their Zeal for the Thing, the True Constitution of the Monarchy, make 'em bear with a Scots-man, even from hence allaruming his Countrymen against a Compleat Union of Kingdom, as subjecting their Bodies and Souls to the Votes of a Foreign Majority?

But much more, can any Englishmen furnish him with Mate-

rials for giving Colour to a Disunion.

Suppose it possible for any reasonable Man to entertain such a Notion of Monarchical Government as Mr. Ridpath obtrudes with as much Assurance as if he either believ'd it himself, or had the Vanity to think he could make it pass upon Thinking Men of either

Historical Account, Dedication, p. 9. either Nation; I hope this Advocate for Liberty will admit the more Powerful Nation, and betterable to answer the Ambition of a Prince, into a Partnership of such Prerogatives, as he ascribes

to their Estates.

Not to enumerate all the Particulars, let it but be granted, that a King or Queen of England is bound, by the Coronation Oath, to govern England by the Advice of the Great Council of England, and to procure to it all the Advantages in the Prince's Power; and that the fame Person being King or Queen of Scotland, is bound to govern by the Advice of the Great Council of that Kingdom, and to procure to Scotland all Advantages in His or Her Power; England advises a War with France, and seizing all Ships of Scotland, or other Nations which Trade with it, and not admitting any into the Benefit of its peculiar Trade, that will not join in supporting its Government; on the other Hand, Scotland advises a strict Amity with France, and that the Sovereign should protect them in that Trade, and procure from England a Free Communication of its Trade.

Is it not ovbious that, in his Sense, 'tis impossible for the Prince to do what the Considerer calls the Duty of the Sovereign? According to that of our Saviour, No Man can serve Two Masters: The Estates of Scotland, the Superiors and Benefactors of that Prince, command their Vassal and Servant one Thing, and the Estates of England, being upon the same Foot, command another, does not this shew an absolute Inconsistency of being

Sovereign of these Two Independent Kingdoms?

What follows then from the Law of Nature and Nations? Either,

First, The Prince must agree to quit one, to keep the other.

Or, Secondly, Must be obliged to it by Force. Or,

Thirdly, Which is most natural, to continue the Rightful Possession, he must assume the Just Rights of a Monarch, must not ast the Prince by Halves; and, therefore must resolve to ast what is

for the good of the whole.

Fourthly, As a Consequent upon this, the better to protect the Remotest Parts, the Prince must strengthen the Seat of Power, and not enable the Members to give Laws to the Head, which would but end in their own Ruin; but must from the Head send Orders and Supplies to the Members.

This, even English-men, who would be thought mighty Advocates for Liberty, I may fay ignorantly oppose, from too nare row Views, and a wrong Application of Popular Notions; not Rightly understanding the Master they pretend to follow.

Historical Account, p. 7.

Ballance of

Power, the

ances. &c.

Authority.

sended to,

mons, &c.

and, p. 27.

Mr. Harrington's Maxim, that Dominion ought to follow the Property, which Mr. Ridpath applies, to prove that Three Parts of the Sovereignty in Four are in the Estates of Scotland, who Essay upon the suffer their Vassal the Prince to have a Fourth; and Dr. Davenant, to argue the Possessor the Crown of England out of the Preroga-Right of making tive of making Peace and War, and the (b) Lords out of all War, Peace and manner of Power; was us'd by the first Author only as a Rule for Alliances, &c. the new erecting's Commonwealth from a State Anarchy, not for Vid. P. 199, destroying Establish'd Governments.

Yet upon a Mistake, as if Man's Wisdom, in contriving an Agraquestion where the Right lay rian Model, ought to fet afide God's Ordinance in known Conftiof making War, tutions, pretended Politicians of this Age laugh at the Wisdom Peace and Alli- of their Forefathers, in preserving the Rights of the Monarch of P. 204. This Britain, and allowing the Sovereignty in Administration to the Distinction be- Prince, in a manner truly Regal, tho' his Property ever bore a

sween Preroga- small Proportion to the Properties of his Subjects.

tive and Royal And indeed that Maxim, as Dr. Davenant and Mr. Ridpath use (b) P. 233. of it, would utterly destroy all Regal Government, which is the time of Qu. not so absolute as to allow no Property to the Subject; yet Mr. Eliz. the Lords Ridpath is not aware of the true Extent of it, if applied to the what they pre- Succession and Union which he opposes.

Mr. Fletcher, his fecond Hero, owns Scotland can't pretend to

but it was not above the Thirteenth Part of the Wealth of England.

Suppose then Her Majesty, to this Nation's unspeakable Loss, yet devolved upon the Comwere dead, and Her Issue, or One of the House of Hanover, were Two Discourses upon the English Throne, claiming that Right to the Crown of moncerning the Scotland, which is manifest by the Law of England; shall any Affairs of Scot-Man, out of a Notion of Liberty, pretend to say the Thirteenth Part of the Monarchy ought to be at Liberty to chuse a Sovereign for it felf; and fince the Ballance of Power within the Island is against 'em, to call in the French to turn the Scale? And ought not Wales to do the same upon much a better Pretension?

If we were not to confider what relation one Part of this Island has, from of old, had to the other, the being under the fame Prince, inferrs a Superiority in the one or other, or endless Contentions. But it has been received as a Law of Nations, that

the

the most powerful Country being posses'd by a Prince, who at the same time was Lord of one less powerful, the less has been held as a Member of the other, and gone so in Succession.

The Knowledge of which made England, when it apprehended E. III. might make France the Seat of his Power, provide by a Law against being Governed by him or his Heirs, as Kings of

Yet some English-men have the Folly, to say no worse, to think the Application of this to the State of England and Scotland is very just; and may think there's a sweet Sound in the Const The Reducing, derer's Quotation out of Grotius, that 'those People who violate Gro. p. 71.

'the Law of Nature and Nations, undermine the Foundation

of their own Peace, and that of their Posterity.

This they may fuffer to be applied to the English in relation to their Usage of the Scots, and never consider how much more applicable 'tis to such Scots, as have no regard to those Laws of Reasonable Nature, and of Nations, which oblige Men to keep to the Contrasts their Foresathers entred into, and which were the Condition of their enjoying large Priviledges and Advantages; and how unnatural, and contrary to the Law of Nations, 'tis to pretend to the Priviledges, while they renounce the Grounds of them.

Will the Scots depart from the Foundation and Condition, of their having a Distinct Kingdom within the British or English Monarchy, and yet pretend to an Establishment by the Law of

Nature, or of Nations?

Will they pretend to any Benefit by the Revolution; to be freed from a State of Slavery to the late King James, and to the next really or supposed to be of his Blood, and yet not take the only

qualified Successor upon the Revolution Bottom?

Will they, if there were anciently an Independent Kingdom in their Highlands, and it ever continued so, pretend, as an Independent Kingdom, to retain the Lowlands, tho' part of England, and put under their Government, on Condition of affishing England in its Wars?

Can any one, who has carefully confidered the Ancient State of this *Mand*, and the Necessity of its Uniting against Foreign Forces, deny but the Government of a Sole Monarch, as 'tis most

E 2

agreeable to Nature, is appointed by the Constitution of the Monarchy?

If this Constitution, of such Importance for the Security of the Island, be God's Ordinance, who are the Incendiaries, they who would cast it off, and Englishmen who would perswade the Scots to what, but for some of them, even Mr. Ridpath, had never thought of, or they who press Submission to it for Conscience-sake?

Since this is the profess'd End of afferting the Right, what Colour is there to represent such Assertions, Proposals for the Reducing of Scotland by Arms, and annexing it to England as a

The Reducing, Province?

Let the Secretary to the French Faction in Scotland, who says, This is become a Theme for Books and Pamphlets, shew one English Book or Pamphlet, wherein this is made any Part of the Theme; or own the truth, that this Suggestion is only used, as 'twas intended, to incite his Country-men against the English, and against that Union, the sirst Approaches to which he represents, as tending to make Scotland a Province of England.

Will any of em fay, whether the Submillion to Her Majesty and Her Issue, as Monarchs of Great Britain, and after them, to the Serene House of Hanover, be a Right or no, we will oppose it by Arms; and therefore shall Interperet all Arguments for the Right, as necessarily implying a Proposal to have Scot-

land reduced by Arms?

They will not, furely, reflect so much upon their Country, for the Honour of which they would be thought mighty Zealous, as to own that they care not whether it be a Right or no, fince they hope France may enable 'em to oppose it; and 'tis equal to them which gives 'em their Terms: indeed if Mr. Ridpath has given a true Account of Mr. Fletcher's Speeches, he was so indiscreet as to own 'tis indifferent to him, provided the Limitations be enasted, to name, or not to name, Hanover, St. Germains,

Proceedings of a Papist, in his imaginary Fetters, should succeed than a Protethe Parliament stant, free from 'em; and he thought it more advisable to give of Scotland, them who Favour the Court of St. Germains a Chance for their P. 278. Pretensions, than to leave the Protestant Succession as 'twas

1b. p. 274 fettled upon the Revolution.

But 'tis to be hop'd that Nation will shew their just Abhorrence of such Pretences to Zeal for the Honour and Interest of Scotland. Farther Farther yet, what Relation has the Reduction of Scotland to a Province, under the Immediate Government of England, to the Question of the Dependency of Scotland upon England as a Superior Kingdom; or of the Right Succession following from the Union of the Crowns, or from the Dependency of one upon the other, or from both?

As several Historians agree in Substance, the Wise King See particularly, H. VII. wisely foreseeing what would be the Consequence, if Ascue's History any Descendant of his Daughter Married to the King of Scots Dedicated to should Inherit the Crown of England, said, 'Nothing could the Prince An. happen so Gratious to both Nations, which by that Means 1607, Citing should be united and made One Monarchy. And further, that the Times.

Scotland, being much inferior in Quantity and Quality to England, fhould be therefore reputed and held but a Dependency, as Normandy was at the time of the Conquest.

One Monarchy there was before, but distinct Kings, as well as Kingdoms. Upon Failure of the Heirs-male of H. VII. and Heirs of their Bodies, the Two Kingdoms came to One King, but

continued diffinct.

Scotland's becoming by its own consent a Province, or Part of England, is indeed the Consequence of being in earnest for a compleat Union of the Kingdoms; but they who demand for the Scots all the Privileges flowing from such an Union of Kingdoms, without their consenting to the Union, do as good as say (at least this Patriot does) you had best give us em, or else France will enable us to take em by Force; or if we can't enjoy em with you, we shall be restored to that Beneficial Alliance and Trade with France, which we lost by the Union; and for Discourse upon which, according to Mr. Ridpath, on Equality in Matter of Trade, the Union, Particle Un

would be but Part of a Compensation.

Since the Ends of such Writings are very little Disguis'd, surely, Englishmen at least, will understand them: And since the Protestant Interest is most powerful in Scotland; 'ris to be hop'd they will Guard themselves from their Harangues, who own a Popish Successor most suitable to their Projects, and that they are willing to give him a Fair Chance; and 'tis to be suppos'd the Presbyterian Ministers, whom Mr. Ridpath charges with acting Discourse upon against the Liberty of their Country in the last Reign, will not cation, p. 4, think it the more adviseable to take up with his Schemes, because he professes himself a strict Presbyterian.

Nor .

Nor will they trust themselves to the Mercy of Two Parties. which equally manifest Ill-will to them. Neither can they expect any thing but Destruction, if they do not intirely fall in with those who labour for the Happiness of both Kingdoms.

Besides their Wise Conduct in King William's Reign: the grateful Sense they have Expressed of the Benefits received by him; and their Endeavours and Prayers for the Protestant Succession: give Assurance of Hope, that with a Ministry in that Interest, they will bring that misguided People to a due

Temper.

Upon the whole, to come to a true State of the present Question, clear'd from the Dirt cast on it, by a Defamer of their Princes, and Diminisher of their Rights; Her Majesty, the Rightful Successor of Fames VI. of Scotland, who, by lawful Descent, under One Imperial Crown, was King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, to himself, and his qualified Progeny and Posterity, recommends a Declaration of the Right of the next Persons qualified according to the Law of the Monarchy.

This she has not only done by her Letters and Instructions to Scotland, but by Act of Parliament in England; and therein has made feveral Provisions, which, without Force of Arms, may be very likely to put the Scots upon confidering their true Interest. And further than this, the recommends to both Kingdoms a Treaty

for a Compleat Union.

To divert 'em from this is the present false Alarm, as if ever fince the Union of the Crowns there has been a Defign to reduce Scotland by Arms to the State of a Province; and that this has not been carry'd on barely by a few hot English-men, but by the English Sovereigns and Councils. But that this uniform Defign is now more visible than ever: Yet, considering the true State of the Case 'tis as good as faying, 'tis more adviseable to fly to Arms, and the Affistance of France, than to Unite with England into one King. dom, or so much as under the same Sovereign; unless it be with a bare Name, while the thing, all the Real Power of the Kingdom, is Transferred to the Estates.

And what is this for? Is it to fecure their Liberties? No. they cannot flatter themselves with so vain an Imagination, if France prevails; but 'twill enable some of their Great Men to be Marshals of France, and the Common People may be fired

with

Vid. Stat. 1 Jac. C. 1.

with Hopes of good Plunder in England, till they had help'd France to sweep away all. Or at best it might give the Government-Menders a Foot to stand upon, with which, like Archimedes, they would expect to turn the World Topsie-

turvy.

As this Patriot seems to have a very mean Opinion of the Understandings of English men, he would have them think the Party in Scotland, which dress'd up their flaring Act of Security, P. 672 seems inclinable enough to come into the same Succession with England, and by consequence into such an Union as will answer all the Ends of a perpetual Alliance, for supporting the Common Government and Interest of the Island.

But will English-men be so weak, to content themselves with having the Successor to the Crown of England, barely nam'd King or Queen of Scotland, without the least Power of Acting for the Common Interest; till the Consent of the Estates of Scot-

land shall be obtain'd?

Believe this Patriot, they are mighty Modest and Reasonable in their Demands; they will name the English Successor, and enable the Successor perpetually to support the Common Government and Interest of the Island; provided the Successor and the English swallow downright Contradictions; that is, that it shall be a Common Government, while the Scots have a Separate Independent Government, chiefly under the Administration of their Estates: by which they are to be secured against all burtful In. P. 68. shuence from England, upon their Religion, Liberty, and Trade; being allowed their own Constitution, and restored to the same Freedom of Commerce they enjoyed before the Ast of Navigation.

As Fraud lurks in Generals, by their Liberty, their Trade, and their own Constitution, as the Writer explains himself over and over, he means, that for the bare naming the English Successor, England should be obliged to give the Scots all the Advantages of the Plantation, or other Trade, must declare Scotland wholly Independent, and give them Power to shackle the English Sovereign, and divest him of all Authority in Scotland, when they please. And tho' the Scots do not Repeal any A&t of Parliament to the Prejudice of an effectual Union, England must Repeal its A&t of Navigation, and other Laws concerning its Trade.

But to deter the English from infisting on the full Right of their Successor, and induce them to yill to what he calls just Demands, Six Considerations are mingled up and down his Pam-

phlet, as.

P. 66.

P. 69.

P. 64.

Scotland's So. Thousands of Fighting Men. Which is so like Mr. Ridpath's vereignty, Pref. one Hundred Thousand Fighting Men, who Resolved every Man P. 14. to sacrifice his Life, rather than submit to the Homage, that since they did submit, the actually drawn together. 'tis to be supposed the several Hundreds of Thousands will sooner agree to obey the Lawful Successor, than draw together to make good

Mr. Ridpath's Terms.

- 2. The State of England at Home, and with Relation to Foreigners. But fince 'tis more powerful in Fleets and Armies than in any former Reign, and under an excellent Administration; a good Parliament, chosen to the great Disappointment of all its Enemies; and the Dominions under its Immediate Government more extended than in those Ages when Scotland was most Troublesome; and since that Kingdom can maintain but a small Proportion of Regular Troops in comparison with England, nor are England's Divisions so high and dangerous as those in Scotland, 'tis not to be thought England will give up the Right of the Crown, and of the Successor, for any Threats from Men within its Power, as this Writer is.
- 3. He threatens England with the Revival of the Old Scotch League with France, and seems to delight in repeating the Calamities it has formerly occasion'd to both Nations. But can this vain Man, who vapours as if after Her Majesty's Death they shall be at Liberty to chuse what Governour, or Form of Government, they please, and supposes France would grant them this, being positive it would grant what Terms they please, and be likely to observe them; think his Readers so weak, as not to observe it had dropp'd from him, in the Page immediatly foregoing his Encouragement for the Scots to Treat with France; that France, which he tells us is not yet reduced, will think it their Interest to incense and support the aggrieved Scots, in order to persuade them to accept the Pretender for their King.

Yet according to the Evident Scope of the Pamphlet, the Scots ought to venture this Chance, rather than have a Compleat Union with England, or receive the English Successor according to the Right.

Tho

Tho' Mr Ridpath formerly Bullied England with this, it has not been thought to deserve the Observation of some there, who accuse their Countrymen as provoking such Men by telling 'em their Duty.

But Mr Ridpath may be allowed to reflect on England, as Account of the oppressing Scotland, and to say, ' if by denying us what our Par- 239. liament think necessary, to secure our Religion, Liberty, and Trade, they should so much encrease the facobite Party, as to enable them to force us to accept the Pretender, and to enter into an Alliance with France, they cannot, in Humane Probability, preserve their own Liberty long, against their own facobite

Party at Home, and so many Enemies Abroad.

Fourthly, He threatens England with the Scots in Ulfter, as if p. 66. they were not in a more plentiful Country than those who Tranfolianted from thence; and did not think themselves better under the English Government, than they can expect to be by joining with the Irish and French Papists, to put themselves under the Heads of Scots. Clans, and Scotland upon contending to be the Head of the Monarchy, or to make a fecond Remove into England, as formerly from the Ancient to the Modern Scotland.

Fifthly, He supposes the Neighbouring States and Nations P. 70. will not refuse their Assistance to the Scots: But that being upon a false State of the Question, as if his Demands for them were just; the contrary is to be supposed; and that if there were occasion, all Protestant States and Nations, together with others in the German Interest, would affist the House of Hanover for recovering its Right.

Sixthly, But he would Complement this Illustrious House out of it; by telling them they have too much Scotch Blood in their Veins, and understand the Errors of their Predecessors to that Crown too well, to force Scotland to that by a Conquest, which they may be sure of obtaining, by the gentler Methods of granting them the Security they justly insist upon, for their Religion, Liberty, and

As if the Methods of that Party who oppose the Hanover Succession were gentle! Wheneven Mr. Ridpath has thewn, that the very naming it, tho' with Terms beyond what they could rea. Account of the fonably ask, gave a general Disgust to their Parliament, and was proceedings of tumultuously oppos'd; neither would the Governing Party, for p. 331.

which this Writer is an Advocate, so much as admit of the Name, left the Rightful Power should follow it.

Tho' the Considerer affirm, that if the Settlement of the Scotch, Succession should be delayed till after Her Majesty's Death, the Scots are then at Liberty to chuse what Governour, or Form of Go-

vernment, they pleafe.

Prout patet

Ib. P. 14.

Parliament

Tis not to be thought this is the general Opinion of the Clergy, the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of Scotland, but that they will be as zealous for the Right of fuch Issue of Her Majesty as She and the Two Nations may yet be Bless'd with, and such Iffue failing, the Right of the House of Hanover, as they were for the Succession of their F. VI. to the English Throne.

Tho' England might juftly have been provok'd by the open-Attempts of the Scots in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, to engage Fop. Autog. pe. reign Princes to force down the Scotch Successor, England chose, for nes meinsum the Good of the Protestant Religion, to submit to the less Apparent Right of a Prince, who had not given fuch Proofs of Zeal and Courage in that Cause, as this Illustrious House has done.

Therefore it can't be imagin'd there should be need of a Conquest, to induce the Scots to make a grateful Return to England, which fcorn'd to flipulate against the Scots enjoying the Fat of this Land: 'And 'tis certainly for their Honour, to have it thought they will as patiently submit to God's Providence. This furely is more reasonable, than to imagine that if Her Majesty should die without Isfue, and before the Right of the House of Hanover should be declared in Scotland, the Body of that Nation should oppose it, if the English Successor of that Illustrious House should not chuse to submit to the Terms the Estates would think fit to impose. Indeed, notwithstanding all the Glosses upon the Act of Security, put by the Reflecter on the Lord Haversham's If there be any Speech, the Stanislans took care, that according to that Act, it should not be in the Power of the Estates to Receive the English them in Being the not Sitting, Successor, upon any Terms whatever, unless fuch Terms, as they

then it, falls pretend to be necessary, were settled in some Parliament before literally in the Her Majesty's Demise.

Seffion to settle For the Estates, in whom the Administration is placed in the Crown upon such Event, have their Hands tied in this Matter. And whatever English Power they may have to retain the Government themselves (which Sugge for. feems.

eems the Intent of the Fletcherians) the Stanislans provided, that if they did chuse a King, it should be one, of such Qualifications, that, as they fancy, their Chief must needs stand fairest for the Choice: Taking it for granted one descended from the Blood Royal of Scotland must be look'd on as of the Royal Line, tho' not of that Branch, which is now seiz'd of Both Crowns.

But D. H—n's constant Advocate would have it thought hie and all his Friends, who were for a total Repeal of the Ast of Account of the the Lineal Succession (which was a perpetual Barr to his Preten-241. fions) thereby manifested his asting more according to Revolution Principles, than some of those who would impose a contrary

Opinion of him upon the World.

With such false Arguments, and abuse of Popular Notions, are too many diverted from observing the tendency of those frequent Libels against England, which are cover'd with the Pretence of Revolution Principles, and Zeal for Liberty; when in truth, 'tis but to disable the only Defenders of the Liberties of Europe,

from stopping the Course of the great Invader of them.

By this Illusion, many who had fignaliz'd themselves in former Reigns, in making a Noble Stand against Arbitrary Courts, were cheated into herding under those who, in King William's Reign, usurped the Name of the Country Party. These might well fall into Measures for limiting the Power of a Prince, whom they, to the last, treated as an Usurper, because he did not deliver King James Bound into their Hands, and fuffer them to treat him as a Lunatick or Madman; or to have it in their Power to let him loofe upon all others, when they had made Terms for themselves. Nay, as if there were no Danger from the Inclinations of some, to the Pretender at St. Germains, or of others to close with the Bribes or Promises of France; they would have it thought popular, even now, to disqualifie all who enjoy any Office under Her Majesty, to have any Trust from their Country: Nor will fuffer a Court to lead Men to their Duty by their present Interest.

But was it not pleasant to see such self-denying Members soon give themselves the Lie? And to observe to what End they talk'd popularly against Standing Armies, and the Partition Treaty, who were sure to make no Opposition to France's Seizing the

Dominions of the Crown of Spain?

That

That the same Party should so much Gull People, even in Queen Anne's Reign, and Counties in England should chuse Representatives for their downright Opposition to the supporting Her Government, is either the Estect of a Miracle, or an Evidence how Hazardous 'tis for a Government Established upon Revolution Principles, (as I have heard admirably explain'd from the Pulpit, by one of the greatest Ornaments of our Church) to suffer the Power so long to continue in the Hands of Men of Anti-revolution Principles, that they are able to make a Struggle before they part with it.

But as Her Majesty's great Discernment, and Wise Ministry, have given a timely Check to them, who were hazarding all by their dangerous Experiments; the reducing the Parties, who the Scotch Patriot says at present contend with one another in England with so much Violence, to a good Under-Banding, is a much easier Task than he would have it

thought.

As 'tis now evidently in her Majesty's Power, she has manifested the Will: And those Blessings which the Almighty Showers down upon her Glorious Undertakings, are Earnests of her executing Her Pious Intentions for the Good of Mankind.

This the Enemies to the Peace of Both Kingdoms fee, and tremble at; but put a Face upon their lost Game, in such Papers as the Considerer's, who would Bully the Nation with Pretence of the Capacity of his Patrons, to bring England to a Temper, and to Teach it no more to Violate the Laws of Nature and of Nations.

One of which is taken to be the Liberty of its Plantation, and other Trade, which he may suppose with another Scots-

Account of the man, if not the same, England may be over aw'd to part with Proceedings, p. for nothing, how much soever it would lose by what it gave up in a Fright.

Mr. Ridpath, in his Discourse upon the Union, which he Dated as from Edinburgh, where he supposed he might be allowed to speak his Mind freely, declares, he thinks bimself obliged in Conscience as much as any Man, to submit to the Powers that be, but at the same Time conceives himself to have the Right of all other Subjects, which is humbly to offer his Opinion as to those Powers which are not yet in Being. And, says

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Pref. p. 7.

fays he, of the Author, meaning himself, since it must be own'd, that we have neither yet an Union with England, for have agreed upon the next Successor, or Limitations for one, he hopes that the Antient Constitution of his Country, justified by Acts of Parliament, may be as safely proposed for a Model, as those of Turky or France, maintained by the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and by Consequence knows himself fafe from all Attacks by Law.

But if the Crown of Scotland follows the Crown of England, either as Appendent, or by Reason of the same Defeent, without Regard to the Ancient Dependency, both Mr. Ridpath, and a much greater Man, would do well coolly to consider one of the Acts of Parliament which secure the Pro-

testant Succession.

If the Considerer be not Mr. Ridpath, he is a most Gross Plagiary from him: But Mr. Ridpath may be allow'd to be so found of the same Notions, as to give us the same Coleworts

feveral times fodden.

Tho' Mr. Ridpath pretends his Discourse of the Union was ref. not intended or meant against the present Constitution, at least the Considerations are, in what that Writer takes to be Her Majesty's Duty, and what he infinuates of Her Farewel, as the last of the Family of the Stuarts.

But fince the Considerer has summed up his Argument in his Conclusion and Postscript, 'tis fit they should be said together,

shat no Man may doubt his meaning.

'Having, says he, thus given a Brief Historical Deduction conclusion, of the Grievances of the Scots, since the Union of the 61.
'Crowns, there's no Ground for so mean an Opinion of the

Justice of Her Majesty and the English Nation, as to think they'll make War upon Scotland, for demurring on the Succession, until they be secured by such Terms of Government as

may prevent the like in Time to come.

As this stands alone it might seem as if his Pamphlet has been occasioned by Publick Discourses, Books, and Pamphlets, proposing the Reduction of Scotland by Arms, and Annexing it

to England.

Yet it appears the only Danger to be fenced against, was the Hanover Succession to more than the Regal Name, if that; the endeavouring to have Right done to Her Majesty, and to

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that House throughout the Island, is to be represented as proposing the uniting Scotland to England as a Province, when it but a continuance of the Union of the Crowns.

But in his Postscript the whole Mystery, and the End of all

the Invectives against England, are out.

Postscript,

p. 'Her Majesty, says he, having been graciously pleased to fignifie her Royal Inclinations, to do all that can be required on her Part, to secure the Scots as to their Religion and Liberty; and that being wholly in her Majesties Power to grant as Queen of Scots, without any Dependance upon the Government of England; the Controversie betwixt the Two Nations is reduced to this one Point, Whether the Scots shall be allow'd the same Freedom of Trade with England, which they had before the Ast of Navigation?

Here he seems wondrous Fair, to quit his Misrepresentations of the State of the Question, and put it as it at present stands.

Yet.

First, He misrepresents her Majesty's Concession to the Scots; which was only what could be in Reason demanded, and was in her Majesty's Power. Which is very different from all that can be required on her Part, for the Ends the Scots pro-

pose.

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Secondly, He who tells Her Majesty She is by Her Oath obliged to Govern by the Advice of Her Parliament of Scotland, and represents it as Advice already given by them, that She should secure to that Kingdom not only an Independency, but Liberty of Trade, contrary to the Act of Navigation, both which he Affirms to be in Her Power; as good as tells Her She breaks Her Oath as Queen of Scots, She not only secure to them an Independency, but Liberty of Trade with England, even the Acts of Parliament in England are against it, and the Scots set up for Independent, and may employ against England the Riches they get by its Bounty.

And yet this Scot would represent me not only as an Incendiary, but as flying in the Face of the Government, if I should say, as Queen of England, Her Majesty cannot make that Kingdom Independent, without making it One with England; nor can She give them a free Communication of Trade, without the Consent of the Parliament of England;

which,

unles

which, with Mr. Ridpath, is a meer Cypher, in Comparison

with the High and Mighty States of Scotland.

Thirdly. When he reduces the Controversie to one Point. the Freedom of Trade: he forgets the other, which he has all along as clamoroully infifted on, the supposed Independency, which is wholly distinct from the Liberty of Trade. However, this is more likely to be granted upon their owning the Dependency, than upon their Labours to cast it off.

But what he fays for Repealing the Act of Navigation is worthy Notice, as it contains a full Discovery of the Intentions of them, who make him their Herald, in Declaring

War against England, if it does not grant this.

To this, fays he of the Scots, they plead a Right by the P. 71. Common Law of England, as being Her Majesties Natural Born Subjects, and in Compensation for the Loss of their Princes Refidence among them, and all the Confequences of it; for the Loss of the Benefit of their Alliance and Trade with France, and for the constant Loss of their Money which is "spent in England, by the necessary Attendance of their No-

bility and Gentry at Court. Then, fays he, fince the Matter is fo, those Gentlemen who P. 724

talk of reducing the Scots by Arms, rather than allow them this Priviledge to which they feem to have fo just a Claim, e may talk as high as they please for the Protestant Religion. the Principles of the Revolution, and the Hanover Succession: but the World will be apt to think that they value them all at a very low Rate, to endanger them thus, by continuing to oppress the Scots for the Sake of a few clamorous selfish M. chants and Tradesmen, whose Avarice all the Riches of the World is not able to fatisfie.

Our Merchants and Tradefinen are obliged to him for his Good Character, but the Nation much more for the Esteem he thews of their good Sence; as if they could bear with his telling 'em so plainly, that the Scots are a Distinct Independent Kingdom; and yet have a Right to our Trade, whether they chuse the same Successor or no; and if the English deny their fo Just Claim, they; by continuing to appress, the Scots, force them to Arms, to the endangering the Protestant Religion,

and the Hanover Succession.

Alas! They are perfectly Innocent, who with Perversions of History, and false Arguments, would perswade the Scots to venture all, rather than not force a Freedom of the English Trade, tho' they have a distinct Sovereign of their own; and would perswade the English to yield to this, tho' the Scots should continue in that Humour; or what is the same thing, not to have the English Successor, unless the Successor ceas'd to be English in any manner of Power; and no longer had the Name in Scotland, than Mr. Ridpath's Three Parts in Four of the Sovereignty pleas'd.

But, according to the Considerer, if England should deny the Scots Freedom of its Trade, 'twould be a Just Cause of War; it being their Right by the Common Law, as being Her Majesty's Natural Born Subjects. Mighty perspicuous! The Scots are entituled to this Freedom as Natural Born Subjects of the Queen of Scots; I am sure he will not say as Queen of England; if he does, 'tis according to Truth, if they perform the Condition of it; but then it overthrows all he con-

tends for.

And, indeed, 'tis ridiculous to imagine the Common Law of England should give this Priviledge to any, who are not Subjects of England; and if the Scots will submit to the Common Law Grounds of their Denization, England has now, as

formerly, declared its Readiness to receive them.

They who pretend to force these Priviledges, and deny the Common Law Grounds for them, may talk as high as they please for the Protestant Religion, the Principles of the Revolution, and the Hanover Succession, but they cannot surely longer expect to impose upon honest Men, interther Nation; since this Scotch Patriot has so fully explain'd the meaning of his Party; which is to prefer the Promises of France, and the Name of an Act of Security, to the true Security offered by Her Majesty, as Monarch of Great Britain; the Imperial Crown, of which She Piously endeavours to transsmit to Her Successors undiminish'd, and in the same Condition in which their J. VIth, and our First, left it to his Progeny, and Posterity.

But a Writer, who represents him, and all his Successors, as Injurious to the Scots, may hope to perswade their Nobility to expect more profitable Attendances at the Court of a Stanislaus,

than they have had in the Court of England; and to gain greater Treasures from thence, than the Late Duke Hamilton left to his Family, which had no Cause to complain of the Loss of Money spent in England.

I have passed by Numbers of Passages in this and other Treatifes from the fame Pen, which besides private Ends, dif-

close these with open Effrontery.

First, To stir up the Scots to insist on what, the Considerer fays, the Parliament of any Free Kingdom is obliged to demand for the People they represent, except they betray the Trust reposed in them, and be wanting to themselves and their Pofterity.

Secondly, If 'twere possible to Cajole or Intimidate England, to yield all those Demands which he will have but

Juft.

Thirdly, At any Rate to defeat the Succession of the House of Hanover to the Crown of Scotland, unless the whole Sovereignty be placed in the Estates of that Kingdom.

Bating the Impious Reflection upon the Memory of King William, with which he concludes, he thus takes his Farewel of

this Subject.

'If the Reducers, and Men of their Temper, be refolved fo P. 71. to Ingross the Favour and Power of their Princes, as to make it impracticable for to do for the Kingdom of Scotland, what every Sovereign ought to do in behalf of their Natural Subjects; no Body can blame the Scots for refusing to come into the same Succession with England, for if it be undeniable (as Themistius has in his Oration to Valens) that Wife Princes are not only to have a Regard to that particular People committed to their Charge, but to all Mankind; it is certainly as true, that Wife and Good Princes don't love to be confin'd in the Exercise of their Royal Goodness and Clemency, to that People only, among whom they have their ordinary Residence, but ought to be at Liberty to perform all the Duties of a Sovereign to their most re-P. 71. mote Dominions and Subjects. I shall take my Leave, fays he, of this Subject, by putting the Reducers in Mind of a 'Wise Saying of Grotius in the Prolegomena to his Book, De ' Jure Belli & Pacis, That those People who violate the Laws

of Nature and Nations, undermine their own Peace, and that of their Posterity.

To this he Tacks. N. B. 'It was omitted in King William's Reign to take Notice, that such an Impost was laid upon Scotch Linen, as amounted to almost a Prohibition of that

Commodity.

As if for the English Nation to impose such Duties, upon what came into it from Scotland, was such a Violation of the Laws of Nature and Nations, as would warrant their making War upon it. And not only the Successor, but Her Majesty, the present Possessor of the English Crown, must be obliged to Govern the English Trade, by the Advice of the Scotch Parliament. And tho' not allow'd a Negative in that Parliament, ought to have that Prerogative in England, in all things which concern its Interest in Relation to Scotland; that She may be at Liberty to perform all the Duties of a Sovereign, to Her most

remote Dominions and Subjects.

Which, according to a true Interpretation from the Scope of that Libel, is to say, that Her Majesty does not do the Duty of a Scotch Sovereign, if She do not make it an Independent Kingdom, where the Estates are Absolute, but the Prince Limited with a Witness: On the other Side, the Place of the Princes ordinary Residence is a Kingdom Dependent upon that remote Part, and so is its Prince, who ought to be Absolute in every the p. 131, thing which the Prince's Benefactors or Superiors shall urge, age. And there that their Vassal and Servant ought to insist on for their Service. To wonder that Therefore, by Her sole Authority, she ought to repeal the

the English their own Trade.

If the Servant fails in this Duty, Mr. Ridpath gives fair Warning, that the Scotch Fourth Part of a Sovereign must expect to be treated as a Servant, and indeed much worse; for a bare Dismission from the Service would not satisfie those Lords and Masters of their Kings, whose Actions he proposes for the Imitation of the Times we live in.

Act of Navigation, and other Acts which provide to keep to

This precarious Humble State, the vain Man may fancy he can footh her Majesty, and the Mustrious House of Hanover, L. H's Speech, to be contented with: But he who wonders at the Impunity of a Man, for barely representing the constant Tenor of our Re-

Hist. Acc. p. 16. The King of Scots had no Negative in Parliament.

our Ancestors treated them

accordingly.

cords.

cords, and even Acts of Parliament of both Nations, from Age to Age, may remember that a much wifer Author than himfelf, thought he safely represented the Sense of the Jacobites. in Matters which had so much of positive Affirmations, that he could not escape that Pundhment, which a better Intention should have guarded him from. And fince I may well think I am one whose Writings, he says, fly directly in the Face of the The Reducine. Government, and am left to consider what Punishment I ought &c. p. 9. to expelt, if Justice should be demanded against me by the Government of Scotland; in God's Name let the Law have its Course, and may Justice prevail. But,

Quis tulerit Gracches de Seditione querentes?

If I affert no more than the Law of the Monarchy, and only to the End that Men may be led by their Duty and Interest, to Unite, not barely under One Monarchy, (for that has been from of Old) but into One Kingdom, in which all Disputes might be for ever drown'd, and the Sovereign may not be distracted with inconfistent Independencies; the World will Judge who is the Incendiary, he who recommends and enforces the true Foundation of Union, by Authorities which can't be denied, without the highest Reflections upon the Honour of this Nation; or they who put the Scots upon a Claim, which England never did nor can allow; nor yet are fatisfied with that, but treat it as the Inferior Nation, and obliged to yield to the Scots, whatever they fancy to be for their Interest, only to keep them from declaring immediately for France: While 'tis left to their Discretions to act for the Future, as such Men shall tell them they are bound, not to be wanting to themselves, and their P. 5. Posterities.

This Dillator, who would make it High-Treason, not only account of the for Scotch Commissioners, but even for their Parliament, to Proceedings of agree to a compleat Union with England, without the express the Parl. of Consent of the People whom they represent; or immediately to Scotland, p. declare, even the Deit of Der Majesty's Body, to be King 333. Some comor Queen of Scotland, if Her Majesty should finish Her Race and were conof Terrestial Glory, before Her course of Successes had con-vinced it was

quer'd no less than High-Treason to endeavour any

quer'd all Obstructions to the quieting the Scotch Succession: grounds his Dictates to his Country-men upon the groffest Ignorance of Fact, or Prevarications, that ever obtain'd inony Nation, fince fuch a Pretender to Knowledge in Antiquities. animated that misguided People, in the unhappy Reign of See History of E. II. to assure the Pope that just 1200 Years after the the Reformation, Children of I frael went out of Egypt, they came from Spain on, Vol. 2. Ap. to Scotland on this fide the Water; that till E. I. had opnalesperCom- pressed them, they had preserv'd themselves free from Servi-

munitat. Sco- tude; and that 113 Kings of their own Royal Family, had reign'd among them, without one Foreigner interve-· ning.

Discourse upon Tho' Mr. Ridpath calls the Old Dutchess of Hamilton, the the Union, P. First Dincels of the Blood in Scotland; according to him, Note, Tis ea. this Blood gives no better Pretence to Reign, than that Irish sie to shew from Pedigree which their Parliament stole and disguis'd to impose whence this was upon Holy Father. For in all these Imaginary Intervals of Independency, the Estates reign'd more truly than their Kings. taken. Discourse upon who having but a Fourth Part of the Sovereignty, were, as the Union, p. 'Mr. Ridpath holds, obliged to give their Royal Affent to what 167. Appendix the Parliament enacted, or otherwise it had the Force of a View of the o- Law notwithstanding; because Three Parts of the Soneriginal Rights ' reignty being lodg'd in the States, vid always de-

of the People of termine the Fourth, which was long'd in the Scotland. Kinga analys Discourse.

59.

p. Yet as he can't difcern how his Notions clash with one another, he contends that England must not dispute the Precedency with Scotland, fince, fays he, 'tis agreed on all Hands

that we are the Antienter Monarchy.

127, Otc. St Different months

Not here to stay to put in my Exceptions to this. I cannot but think all who value themselves upon their long Race of Kings reaching to the Clouds, will shew their Abhorrence of The Reducing, the Republican Position, that if the Settlement of the Scotch Succession should be delay'd till after Her Majefty's Death. the Scots are then at Liberty to chuse what Governour, or ' Form of Government, they please.

&c. p. 69.

Hist. Acc, Intr. Thus that Antient Monarchy, which if we believe him, for p. 28. above 2000 Years, has been the Darling of Providence, is to fall like one of their Princes.

But observe his own excellent Illustration of his Republican Text.

They can be in no indispensible necessity of bastening to fill the Reducing, their Throne, if they have but so much Unanimity, as its hop'd p. 69.

their former Mistakes of that Sort, and the present Designs

of their Enemies, must needs oblige them to.

The Grand Mistake of this Sort, for which Mr. Ridpath reproaches his Country-men, is their declaring for King William and Queen Mary, without being beforehand restored to the full Possession, of what he represents as their Antient Liberties.

Those present Designs of their Enemies, with which he would Alarum his Country-men, he takes Care they should understand to be more than can be evidenced by pretended Discourses, Books, and Pamphlets in England; for he makes Hist. Acc. p. 1. the whole Nation the dangerous Enemy, and an Invader of The Reducing, their Religion, Liberty, and Trade. To proceed with his &c. p. 1. Commentary upon his Republican Aphorism.

Vid. p. 17.

The Ast of Security has made it High-Treason, 'to proclaim &c. The Reducing, or declare any Successor in that Case, without the Consent &c. p. 69. of the States; the Administration is taken Care of by the P. 70.

fame Act, and those entrusted with it are obliged to see that Law put in Execution, against those who shall offer to contra-

' vene it, bysetting up any Pretender whatever.

Thus, with him, if Her Majesty should die leaving an Heir of Her Body, that Heir would be but a Detender; and 'twould be High-Treason to declare that Heir King or Queen, unless an Ast of Parliament had pass'd in Favour of such Heir, or the Estates, who need be in no haste to divest themselves of any Part of their Power, should condescend to admit the Heir into a Fourth Part of their Sovereignty. Vid. Sup.

But in Truth the Stanislans took Care, that this should not be in the Power of the Estates, if their Act of Security can be of any Force, and should continue unrepealed, du-

ring Her Majesty's Life.

And no Doubt but the Considerer had the chief Heroe of his Romances, the Heir Apparent of the First Princess of the Blood, in his Eye, when he penned what follows.

P. 70.

When the States do meet, which must be in Twenty Days at farthest, after Her Majesty's Death, the Government falls naturally into their Hands; and they may eafily find among themselves Persons capable of holding the Reing of it, and to Command their Troops, if there be occasion; as well as they did at the Late Revolution, until they confider what is to be done.

Hift. Acc. 131.

'Tis to be understood, that these High and Mighty States, P were their Kings Benefactors, or Superiors: And therefore the Government would Maturally fall back into their Hands.

But this Author, who takes sufficient Advantage of the thoughtlesness of those Readers, who swallow his Assumptions, thinks it easie to perswade 'em, that the little stand they made at the Revolution, against a finking Party among themselves. before Affistance from hence; is to be urged as a Parallel to the Time, when the upstart Authority of their Estates, that never could stand by themselves, were to be maintained against all the truly and the pretendedly Loyal of their own Nation. and the Force of England, affifting all Good Subjects to place their Crown upon the only Qualified Branch of their Royal Family.

No Doubt he would have it thought that Stanislaus, at the Head of those bunded Thousands of Fighting Den. with which he fancies that Mation has Weight enough to turn the Ballance, which ever Sive they take, will be a Match to the Duke of Marlborough, at the Head of the English Forces; and take from him those ever fresh Lawrels, and Glories, which he gains by repeated Victories over France, which this Writer infultingly tells the English, is not vet reduced.

Ib.

This was at a Time when the French Fadion foresaw that Treachery upon the Moselle, which necessitated a Change for a more Glorious Scene of Action; but could not foresee how that Great Man would continue to exceed all Belief.

The Memorial of England.

As this Libel against England, and the Memorial against of the Church the Ministry, for supporting its true Interest, had never feen the Light, but in Confidence of the Success of the Deligns of France; I may live to convince all that will have Patience to Read, and not be Angry at being shown shown that Matters of the highest Consequence, and most obvious, have not been duly observed by them; that as France first set up the often bassled and retracted Pretence of the Scotch Independency, blotting out of Story the Misrule of E. II. there never, from the First erection of the Modern Scotland into a Kingdom, was a time when that Nation renounced the Protestion of England, but in Expectation of the Protestion of France.

And when they did this, several of the best of their Nobility were Liegemen of England; and according to the Duty of their Allegiance, and National Contracts frequently renewed, join'd with the English against the Scots: And I cannot help it, if the Duke of Hamilton should think I disgrace his Family, when I shew an Earl Douglas among these Liegemen.

'Tis observable that their Ad of Security was hatch'd, when they were big with the Hopes of being Slaves to an Universal Monarchy, upon the French Forces joining a Vassal of the Emperor to destroy that Empire: And the Germans were kept back from concurring with their Deliverer in defending themselves, when the Considerer made it known, 'that p. 65, 'the French can much sooner pass the Tweed, than the British 'Channel; and therefore it's much the safer Way to comply with all the Just Demands of the Scots, (that is as he explains himself, all that the French Fastion insist on) than to force them to such a fatal Mecessity of byinging in the French, so, says he, they may have what Cerms from them they please, besides a Chance so having them 'continued.

Yet his Country-men must be very weak, if they cannot discern, that the would put them upon opposing England, under a Notion of their own Strength, without any necessity of depending either upon England or France; as if their Soil had shot up in Gold and Silver, and Mr. Fletcher's Free Cities and Machine of Government, had descended from Heaven; would perswade them they are under an Absolute Necessity of the Reducing, which he would have it thought they have labour'd under, by the Institutence of England, ever since the Union P. 17. of the Crowns. To submit to France, is according to the Scope

Scope of several of his Libels, much better, not only than to Hist. Acc. De-throw themselves into the Arms of the House of dication, p. 11. Hanover without Limitations; but even than continuing under her Majesty's Protection, as Monarch of Britain.

> And he not obscurely hints, that all which he Charges upon Her Glorious Predecessor, King William, will fall to Her Share, unless she be govern'd by the Advice of the Estates of Scotland. Tho' he may wheedle thefe his mighty Sovereigns into a Belief, that France would support their nsurp'd Authority, 'tis to be remember'd he confesses,

The Reducing, 'That Crown, which has ftirr'd up the Revolts in Poland, &c. p. 64. 'Hungary, and the Empire, will think it as much their Interest to incense and support the aggricult Scots, in Deder to perswade them to accept the Pretender for their

Kina.

But fince if Her Majesty, as seiz'd of One Imperial Crown, is Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and if She should die without Issue, and before the Parliament of Scotland should declare for the Right of the House of Hanover, the Protestant Heir of that Serene House will succeed, according to the Acts of Parliament recognizing the Rights of King Henry VIIth, and Fames Ist, their Progeny and Posterity, and Subsequent Statutes, Declaratory of that Right, and of the Fundamental Law of the Monarchy; let this Writer look to himself for his Practices against Her Majesty, as Monarch of Britain, and against the Right Heir to the Monarchy.

And if he, who with the help of an heedless English Historian, rais'd a Controversie which seem'd laid by the Union of the Kingdoms; and labours to excite the Scotch Nation to demand Justice against him, who but answer'd the Challenge to make good the Cause of England; should become an Instance of England's afferting its own Cause, and an Atonement to the injured Manes of the Lord Cummin, and Captain Green, would it not be truer Justice than what

Postscript.

P. 68. The the Partial Considerer applauds?

Scots began their Deliverance, by doing Justice on those Families that had Betrayed their Liberties. Posteript. Comparing the Memorialists with Mr. Ridpath, and with themselves.

IT might have been thought impossible Mr. Ridpath's Notions of Government, with which some would reproach the Presbyterians, who have the Honour to be join'd with all that are not Biggots for a Name of doubtful Application, should have been an Original, Copied and Improved by warm Zealots for the Church and Monarchy.

Mr. Ridpath in the Name of the People of Scotland, and the Memorialists in the Name of the Church of England, make a

very poor Figure of a Sovereign.

He will have Three Parts of the Sovereignty in Four to be in the Estates; and them to be the Princes Superiors, with full Power at Pleasure to use their Vassal and Servant suitably to that lowly Station.

Yet he reserves an Original Power to the Body of the People, of whom he makes himself the Full and Sole Representative.

How extravagant soever this Scheme may be, a Cabal of Church-men go several Lengths beyond him: Nor is it to be wonder'd, since, with the Evil Spirit which possessed the Demoniae, their Name is Legion: And therefore they think they are able, as they Inchant an Ignorant, Bigotted Party, with their Diabolical Arts to overturn a Government, the best Establish'd, and most Favoured of Heaven.

As they take upon them the Name of the Church of England; according to its Canons, they must have a Temporal Head: That Her present Majesty is not their Head in Spirituals, is manifest, by their taking upon 'em to Judge that She is fallen from the Church, in not following the Counsels of the D. of B. and the Earls of

N. and R.

If therefore they have any Principle, 'tis evident they must take the Presender at St. Germains to be the only Rightful Prince, and the D. of B. with those Churchisied E-s, to be his Digh Commissioners.

Their Prince being absent, they may be allow'd to overturn, over-

they would make very uneafie to any Body elfe.

No Form of Government, therefore, can be too wild for these

Royalists.

And whereas Mr. Ridpath allows the Lords to make One Estate at least, if not Two, with the Help of the Clergy, by which Means the Crown falling in with the Nobility, could at any Time reduce the Commons to the Old State of Vasfallage; these High Monarchical Men, not having their Monarch among em, make the Commons Assembled in Parliament, to have not only the Superiority, or Supremacy, over the Crown and the Lords,

F 58 7

omes of the ferves to the Hundreds of Thousands of Fighting Men, whom he represents: Not does he more Bully England with those Scots, and Legislature than the Memorialists do Her Majesty, and Her Ministers, with the spectre of the Late House of Commons.

Constitution if, as they hold, Priviledge is that reserve of Liberty, which the whole People have not submitted to the Dominion of any thing but their own Reason; and of all thin the Commons in Parliament are the only Keepers and Judges? Had the Authors been as well read as they pretend to be, they might have been aware that they flole from the Lex Regia the Reason of the

Power of the Prince. Quippe populus ei & in cum omne jus suum contulit.

As it concerns Mr. Ridpath to answer that Charge which has been fairly drawn from his Writings, stuff'd with Invectives against England; it may become the Metaphysicks of the Famous Graduate in the Ideal World, to confound the Natural Idea, the High-Fliers exhibit of the Church, whose Dangers entrease, as the Power of France decreases: And to observe the Evidence, that the Church for which they are so Zealous, is that, of which the Pope's Jahoutite Don, the French King, is the Great Protestor; according to his most Gracious Promise, when an immediate Prospect of the Success of the Assassination Plot made them as high, as they were upon the D. sappointment of the last German Expedition: Which transported them to threaten (a) Her Majeste.

(a) Mimorial Expedition: Which transported them to threaten (a) Her Majeft, of the Church and Her most Faithful Ministers, with the dire Effects of their reference

of England, p. ing the Defeat of their Destructive Measures.

8. Speaking of the Queen, they plainly see by Her repeated Cautions in Her Speeches, by the Conduct of Her Principal Ministers, and by the Obstructions which every thing that has been advanced for the Security of the Church, has met with from some great Off— of the Cr—n, that the Ch—ch does not hold the same Rank in Her Esteem and Considence that it held heretofore, or at least, that through the Amenforme Party or other, she dares not give 'em the wonted Marks of it.

But they little observed how Her Majesty exceeds all Examples of Womankind, who could think to prevail upon the timidity usually incident to the Fair Sex: Nor must they think She and Her Chief Ministers, whose Orders and Advices are so happily Executed, in Attacking and Routing the greatest Strength of France, should be P. 12. The (b) afraid of them, who can do nothing but List Men in its

Principles of the Ch—ch of

E— will dispose Men to bear a great deal, but he's a Madman that tries how much; For when Men are very much provok'd, Nature is very apt to Rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's Side. Whether the Provocation given to the Church of E— may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouge Nature, Some of our Statemen would do well to consider in Time, &c. Nor is it to be expected that they should long bear to be thus us'd, &c. but the T— is Wise, let him therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this Juneture, p. 18. The Cr—is self may be timerous, ill advised, unwilling, or unable to relieve me. What has been may be; it has been once our Case, and is now of our Brethren in Scotland.

Service, under the Counterfelt or Ambiguous Name of the Church; after they themselves had been disarm'd of the Weapons with which they had been trusted, out of hopes their former Pretence of Zeal for Her Majesty's Service, when they labour'd to set up her Court as a Rival to King William's, was not like that pretended Love to the House of Hanover; which is to appear in their pushing to have the Princess Sophia, or Her Grandson, to have a Court for them to infect, or run down.

With which imaginary Scene of Popularity, they promife to open

their next Farce,

But as Her Majesty's discernment is too clear for them, She finding their Actions contrary to their High Professions, has lest them to repent at Leisure of their precipitant shewing themselves, if not Madmen, at least Enemies to Her as Kightful Queen, and to the Protestant Succession; which they, and their Friends beyond the Tweed, have encouraged such Sort of Presbyterians as Mr. Ridpath, to oppose, as if that were the Way to perpetuate the Establishment of the Kirk.

And some Church-men may, in the simplicity of their Hearts, think the Authors of the Memorial, with their Band of Tackers, to be the only Men who will fight for the Church in the very Breaches: As if they forgot how admirably they made good

their large Promises to their King of Divine Right!

Since the Authors of that Impotent Libel in the Name of the Church, who often rave into Nonsense, represent Her Majesty as not esteeming the Church, or fearing to support it; the Majority of the House of Lords, and particularly the Bishops, as Enemies to it; and even the Majority of their Favourite House of Commons, who would not join with the Tatkers in distressing the Government, as Lukewarm Friends; what next to the admirable Essects of the Counsels and Actions of the present Ministry, can be more to their Praise, than that most of the High-Flying Rage is vented against them? Were not the Sinews of War so excellently managed and applied, to the Consusion of France, their Church would not have fallen into such a trembling Fit; nor had the World been diverted with such a ridiculous Railing Accusation against the Lord Treasurer.

But so great was their Folly, as to think to be Popular while they revile even the Duke of Marlborough: The Harmony of whose Heroic Actions might have charm'd their Rage, had it not been more exorbitant than that which yielded to King David's

Lyre.

But he and the Earl of Orford have done too much against France, to be ever forgiven by the France Faction: As the Earl has been Impeach'd, 'tis well known the Duke has not been a little threatned by 'em; and had not his conquering Genius exerted it self

in Brabans, they would have laboured hard to make the German Sloth of

Treachery his Crime.

dieam vivis

Memorialists.

gatur?

The D. of B. who must be agreed to be a Person of very good Understanding. cannot take it well of the Memorialists, to join him in the Support of their Church, with one, whose Bigotry and Pedantry, he has so often, and so handsomely ridiculed.

Nor can reasonable Men believe there could be Danger to the Church or State. in the supplying the D. of B's Place, which so truly Great a Man, even beyond

Estate, and Titles of Honour, as the D. of N.

Since his coming into the ministry is one of the main Occasions of the World's being enlightned with the avow'd Distinction, between the presended Doctrine of High-Church, and the Nature of its Church-men; 'tis but one of the numerous Evidences, that the humouring them is inconsistent with the Safety of the State.

As the Fall of Jacobitism removes the Eclipse from the Mining Qualities of the Lords, Wharton, Somers, and Halifan, which will ever be had in grateful Remem-Rife quid hoc brance by unenvious Posterity; 'tis but natural for the Momorialists to reproach that Splendor, which they cannot bare, and which drives them to such a di-

quod fama ne. flance from fo great Ornaments of the Age.

Tis no Myftery what Charch they are for, who speak ill of the best Advocate that Church ever had in its Diffress, whose Acclamations and Prayers call'd him to the According to the Helm, under its Glorious Deliverer. And the Event of that abused Prince's being whilpered out of such a Minister, when the Memorialists Trustees of all the referred Power of the People were just to his unblemish'd Character; shews what Regard is to be had to the Clamours and Fears, of those who find themselves involved in the Ruin of that Universal Monarchy, to which they have been flavish Tools; as they were its Apes, in perfecuring all Protestants, who could not run into a Church for Shelter, as, danin'd Hereticks, not farther from their Mercy than from God's.

But the Protestants of Europe, whom they would divide from their Common Intereft, are fafe in Her Majefty's Protection: And as Her Auspicious Influence, which extends so the remotest Parts, can't be weakest at the Center; the Miracles of Her Reign ate happy Omens and Earnests, that her Pious Endeavours to secure the Bleffings She diffules, and transmit them to Her Protestant Successor in the Monarchy of Britain, will be crown'd with this Glory, that the has been as successfully Wise and Coura-

to is in Counfel, as Her Great General in the Field.

Two of Her Daron Debeteffors confolidated the Fields of Britain, one by a Marriage, another by Arms; and Her Majefty's immediate Predeceffor made good his Motto, in maintaining an happy Union of the Crowns, e'en during Wars with France.

But 'eis referv'd for the peculiar Felicity of Her Majesty's Reign, to conquer the opposition to a Compleat Union, at the Head : And to reduce the Two Kingdoms to their Antient fingle State, by a compleat Victory over the Hearts and Passions of all True Subjects of Her. Imperial Crown.

Age 7. l. 3. f. it, r. the Right. 1. 4. f. the Right, r. it. p. 8. Marg. f. 16. r. 68. p. 19.1. 11. add the before Power. p. 15. 1. 3. f. places, r. adds. 1. 4. f. inflead of, r. to. p. 26. 1. 33. f. Lands, r. Souls. p. 27. 1. 26. f. tuis, t. fuis. p. 31. b 16. f. Refolution, r. Revolution. p. 32. l. 32. r. Kingdoms. p. 34. 1. 12. after State, t. of. l. 27, and 32, f. Thirteenth, r. Thirtieth. p. 56, l. 31, f. Kingdoms, r. Crowns.

